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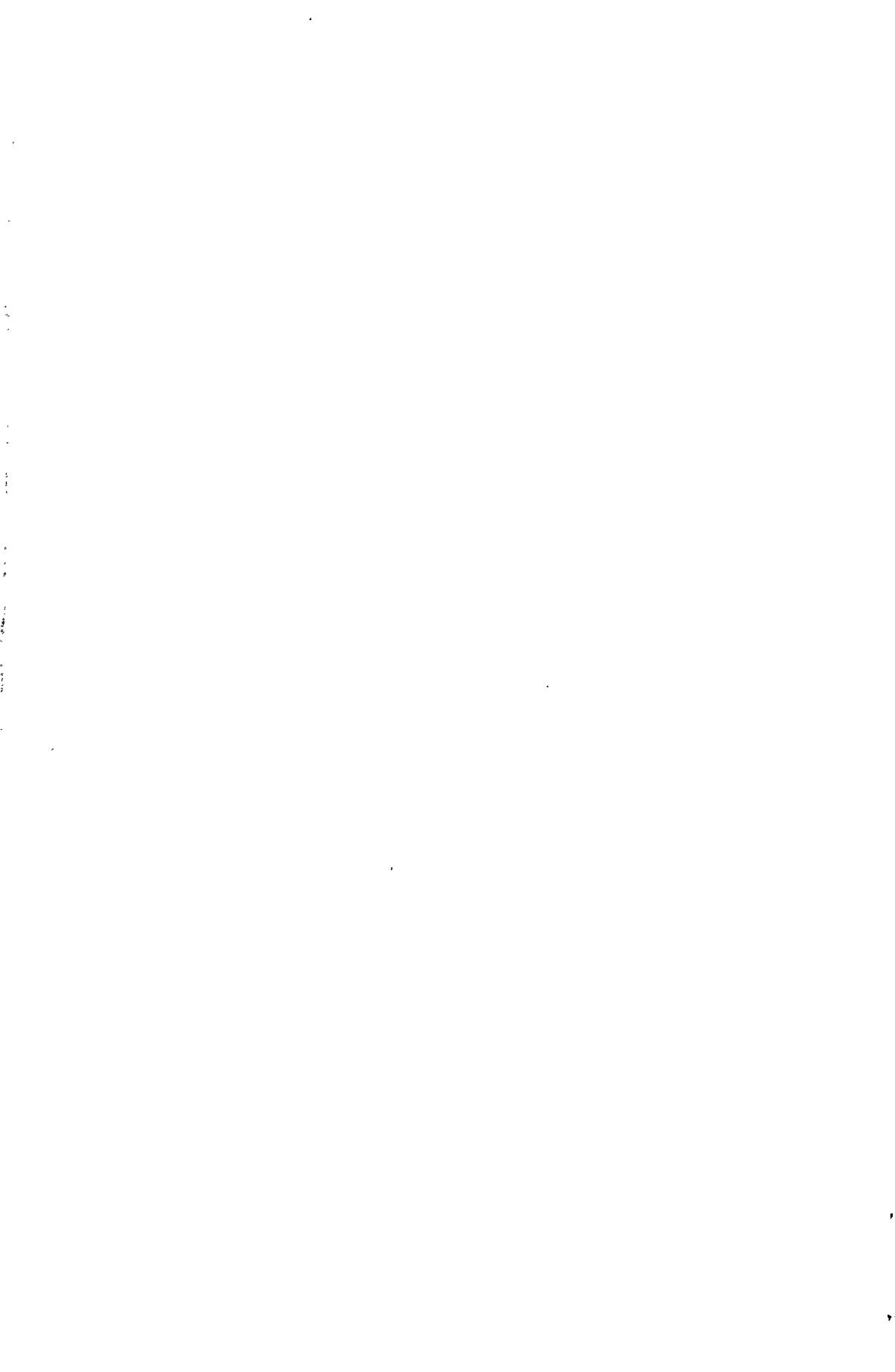


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VEDIC STUDIES



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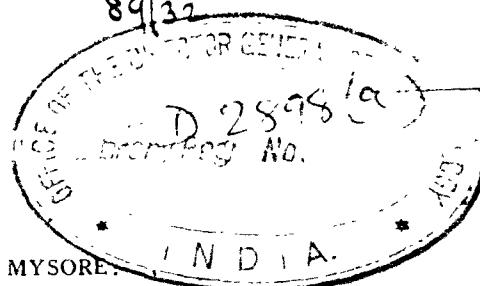
A. VENKATASUBBIAH

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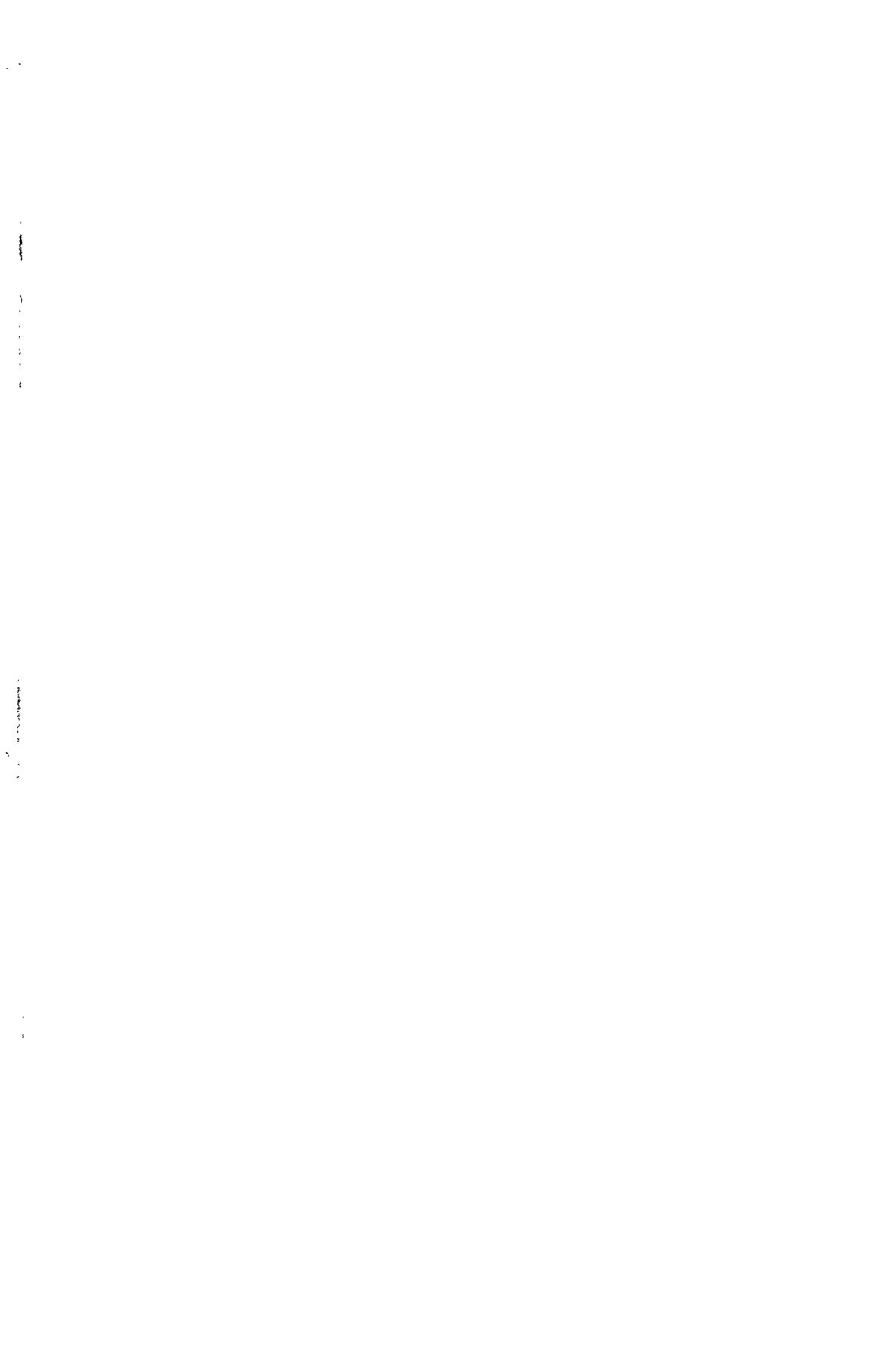
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Om

námo vācē yā coditā yā cānuditā tāsyai vācē námo
námo vācē námo vācāspátayē náma ḍśibhyo mantrakṛdōhyo
māntrapatibhyo mā mām ḍśayo mantrakṛto mantrapátayaḥ
páraḥ dur mā 'hám ḍśin mantrakṛto mantrapátin páraḥ
dām ||

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PREFACE

In the years 1926-1929, there were published by me in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* some articles under the general title of 'Vedic Studies.' As it has been thought that it would be more convenient to students if these articles were collected together and printed in the form of a book, I have done so here with the kind permission of the editors of those journals. Four articles however are new, and slight alterations have been made here and there in some of the others.

Owing to unexpected delays, the printing had to be done at a time when I was unable to read the proofs with the care which such work demands. In consequence, there is a fairly large number of typographical errors in the book; and their number would undoubtedly have been larger had it not been for the kindness of Mr. S. Sitaramayya and some other friends who obligingly took on themselves the task of reading some of the proofs. Such of the errors as I have noticed are corrected in the *Errata* given on the next page: some of them are due to the diacritical marks breaking off in the course of printing, and may not be found in all copies.

As is indicated by the title itself, I am in this book following the path trodden by the eminent German scholars Pischel and Geldner in their *Vedische Studien* which consists of articles devoted to the interpretation of obscure or misunderstood Vedic words. Like them (see op. cit., I, xxx), I have endeavoured to avoid reading un-Indian meanings into the Rgveda, and, as far as possible, to elucidate the meaning of Rgvedic passages by means of other RV passages. I venture to believe that I have adhered to this principle more closely than the above-named scholars; and this, as also the difference of personal outlook, will perhaps explain why my interpretations of some words (e.g. *dán*, *padbhīh*, *admasád*, *nirekā*) differ from those given by them.

The abbreviations used to denote Vedic texts are the same as, or very similar to, those used by Bloomfield in his *Vedic Concordance* and explained on pp. xvi—xxii of the Introduction of that book.

Mysore,
March 1932

A. Venkatasubbiah

Errata

Read in 2, 28: *vacyámāna*; 3, 34: Grassmann; 9, 26: *uṣatīr*; 15, 26: with; 16, 3: *tanvāḥ*; 16, 11: *dhenúṁ*; 30, 18: *śocīṣā*; 32, 1: *adarśi*; 63, 30: *Nālā-yanī*; 88, 1: *śīśum*; 103, 31: *evāneva haṭīṣā yakṣi devān*; 124, 2: *devīḥ*; 131, 27: referred; 139, 25: *divyā*; 145, 12: *āśāvō*; 149, 12: *saṁśyāvah*; 174, 32: (after Śvet. Up. 3, 18): *naवadvārc pure dehī haṁso lelāyate bahīḥ*; Brh. Up. 2, 5, 18; 196, 28: Āpastamba; 211, 4: 8, 15, 8 (instead of 1, 15, 1); 236, 11: *smād-
liṣṭi*; 249, 13: *pība*; 272, 23: 3, 12, 1 (instead of 3, 11, 1).

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VEDIC STUDIES

§ 1

nitya

This is a very familiar word that occurs about thirty-eight times in the RV and very frequently in the other Vedic texts and in later literature. The commentators, Indian as well as European, are at one in interpreting this word as (1) *sviṣya*, *sahaja*, own, and (2) *dhrुva*, lasting, constant, perpetual, uninterrupted, imperishable, eternal, etc. In assuming the second of the above two meanings for this word in the RV, the commentators have been no doubt guided by the circumstance that the word *nitya* has that meaning in later texts. But as a matter of fact, this latter meaning is not appropriate and does not yield good sense in a number of passages—for instance, in 1, 66, 1 : *āyur ná prānō nityo ná sūmūḥ* and 1, 185, 2 : *nityam ná sūmūm pītrór upāsthe dyāvā rākṣatamī pṛthivī no ábhvāt* where *nityah sūmūḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *dhruvah ātmajah*, and by Ludwig as 'ein überlebender Sohn' (1, 66, 1) and 'lebender Sohn'; in 1, 166, 2 : *nityam ná sūmūm mādhu bibhrata ūpa kriṇanti kriṇā vidāthēsu ghṛṣvayah* where *nityam sūmūm* is translated by Ludwig as 'einen nicht absterbenden Sohn'; in AV. 7, 109 : *kāḥ pṛśnīm dhenūm rāvunēna dattām átharvāṇe sudūghām nityavatsām*, Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5 : *enām śiśuh krandat� ā kumāra enām dhenuh krandatu nitya-vatsā* and ibid. 3, 2, 8 : *āsyandantam dhenavō nitya-vatsāh* where the expression *nitya-vatsā dhenuh* is explained as 'cow with constant calf' by Whitney (*AV. Translation*) and 'unceasingly fertile cow' (SBE. 29, 93) and 'immer fruchtbare Kuh' and 'beständig fruchtbare Kuh' by Oldenberg (*Ind. Stud.* 15, 71); and in 10, 39, 14 : *uy ḥmṛkṣāma yóśāṇām ná márye nityam ná sūmūm tānayam dādhanāh* where *nitya* is found as the tertium comparationis in a simile.

The other meaning 'own' is still less appropriate here; and it therefore becomes clear that in these and other similar passages the word *nitya* has a meaning different from the two mentioned above.

What this meaning is, can be found out with the help of 1, 66, 1; 1, 166, 2 and 10, 39, 14, all which verses contain similes with *nitya* as tertium comparationis. In the first of these verses it is said that Agni is *nitya* as a son (*sūnū*); in the second, that honey (*mádhu*) is *nitya* as a son (*sūnū*); and in the third, that a hymn of praise (*stóma*) is *nitya* as a son (*sūnū*). A comparison therefore of the adjectives which these words—*sūnū*, *mádhu*, *stóma* and *agní*—receive in the RV, will show what characteristics are common to the things denoted by them and will thus determine the sense of *nitya*.

Of these words, *sūnū* receives the following adjectives,—*trayayáyya*, *priyá*, *máryya*, *vijávan*, *súci*, *suséva*, *hýdyá* and *nitya*; and *mádhu*, the following,—*ádhigartya*, *áśnápinaddha*, *kámya*, *górjika*, *ghrtá*, *cáru*, *tridhátu*, *divyá*, *daivya*, *pakvá*, *párisikta*, *púskare* *níṣikta*, *práthibhrta*, *priyá*, *madirá*, *váraṇá*, *sáraghá*, *sukṣáya*, *sutá*, *somyá*, *spárhá* and *nitya*; while *stóma* has the following adjectives—*áksitoti*, *agriyá*, *ántama*, *ántara*, *ápúrvya*, *ámando*, *amṛta*, *uruvyáć*, *étaśa*, *éva*, *kámya*, *krátumán*, *giyámána*, *gír* (?), *dýśika*, *dyutádyáman*, *dyumnín*, *dhanasá*, *námasván*, *návajáta*, *návya*, *nútana*, *purutáma*, *pūtú*, *púrvyá*, *préṣṭha*, *mádhumattama*, *madhyamá*, *mánasá*, *váyámána*, *mandín*, *mahát*, *ratnadhátamá*, *rudriya*, (?), *vánirvan*, *vájáyan*, *váhiṣṭha*, *vidúṣa* *árdhya*, *sámtama*, *śasyámána*, *sukrá*, *súci*, *śuṣá*, *śuṣyá*, *satrājít*, *sádhú*, *sidhrá*, *suvṛktí* (?), *havíṣmán*, *hrdá* *tastá*, *hrdispýk*, and also *nitya*.

It will be seen that the only adjective (besides *nitya*) common to the three words *sūnū*, *mádhu* and *stóma* is *priyá* (in the case of *stóma*, we find instead of *priyá* its superlative form *préṣṭha*) and the only characteristic that is common to the things denoted by these words is

priyatva. *priyá* is used as an epithet of *agní* also in 1, 143, 1 ; 5, 23, 3 ; and 6, 1, 6, while Agni, further, is called *priyāñām* *prēsthah* once and *purupriyāh* many times. Thus the only adjective (beside *nitya* whose meaning we are engaged in finding out) and the only characteristic that are common to the above-mentioned four words and the things denoted by them, are *priya* and *priyatva*¹ ; which makes it probable that *nitya* means *priyá* in the above passages. The probability, in this instance, is converted into certainty by the parallelism of *priyá* and *nitya* in 1, 91, 6c : *priyastotro vánaspátiḥ* and and 9, 12, 7a : *nityastotro vánaspátiḥ*.

nitya thus means *priya*, dear, pleasing, beloved, favourite. It has this meaning in the following passages :

1, 73, 4 : *tám tvā náro dámā ā nityam iddhám*
ágne sácanta kṣitíṣu dhruvásu |
ádhī dyumnám ní dadhur bhúry asmin
bbhávā viśváyur dharúṇo rayiṇám ||

“ Men have worshipped in their stable dwellings, O Agni, thee that art dear and flaming; they have placed much splendour in him. Do thou become the bearer of riches, the vivifier of all.” Compare the many passages where Agni is called *priyá*, namely, 1, 26, 7 ; 1, 75, 4 ; 1, 91, 3 ; 1, 128, 7-8 ; 1, 143, 1 ; 2, 4, 3 ; 5, 1, 9 ; 5, 23, 3 ; 6, 1, 6 : 6, 2, 7 ; 6, 16, 42 ; 6, 48, 1 ; 7, 16, 1 ; 8, 84, 1 ; and also 6, 15, 6 (*priyāñ-priyam*) ; 1, 186, 3 and 8, 84, 1 (*prēsthām*) and 8, 103, 10 (*priyāñām* *prēsthām*) : compare also the passages where he receives the epithet *purupriyá* (see Grassmann, s.v.) and *mandrá* (see *ibid.*, s.v.).

7, 1, 2 : *tám agním áste vásavo ny ḷṇvan*
supraticákṣam ávase kútaś cit |
dakṣāyyo yó dámā āśa nityah ||

¹ This seems to have been felt by Grassman also who in 1, 66, 1, has translated *nityo ná sūnūḥ* as ‘ wie eigener Sohn, lieb.’ Sāyana too, similarly explains *nityam ná sūnūm* in 1, 166, 2, as *nityam aurasam priyam putram itva*.

“The bright ones, for their protection from everything, set him down in the dwelling, Agni, beautiful to look at, who sat down in the house, dear and capable.” The verse occurs in the first hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala whose authorship is ascribed to the Vasiṣṭhas; and as the word *vāsiṣṭha* is the superlative of the word *vāsu*, Sāyaṇa is perhaps right in saying that the word *vāsavah* here refers to the Vasiṣṭhas.

3, 25, 5 : *ágne apām sám idhyase duropyé
nítyah sūno sahaso jātavedah |
sadhásthāni maháyamāna ūtī ||*

“Thou, the glorifier of dwelling-houses with thy protection, the beloved, art kindled in the abode of the waters, O Agni Jātavedas, son of strength.”

5, 1, 7 : *prá nū tyám vípram adhvareṣu sādhúm
agním hótaram īlate námobhiḥ |
ā yás tatāna ródasi rténa
nítyam mrjanti vājínam gṛténa ||*

“They worship him with adorations, Agni, the wise, the hotṛ, the ornament of the sacrifices, who extended the two worlds according to divine ordinance. They adorn (him), the beloved (like a) race-horse, with ghee.”

10, 12, 2 : *devó deván paribhúr rténa
váhā no havyám prathamás cikitván |
dhūmáketuh samídhā bhārjīko
maṇdró hótā nítyo vācā yájiyān ||*

“The god (sc. Agni) encompasses the gods; bear thou, (O Agni), our offering (to the gods) according to divine ordinance, thou that art knowing, the first, smoke-bannered and with brightness as thy ornament (when kindled) with fuel, the pleasing beloved hotṛ that worshippes (the gods) better (than human hotṛs) with thy voice.” Compare 6, 1, 6 : *saparyéṇyah sá priyó vikṣv
agnir hótā maṇdró ní ṣasādā yájiyān | tám tvā vayám
dáma ā dīdīváṁsam úpa jñubádho námasā sadema* and

1, 26, 7: *priyó no astu viśpátiḥ hótā mandrō várçyāḥ*
 where the expression *priyó mandrō hótā* corresponds to
nítyo mandrō hótā in this verse. Compare also 1, 44, 3:
*adyā dūtám vṛṇīmahe vásuṁ agním purupriyám | dñumá-
 ketum bhárjikam vyuṣṭiṣu yaññānām adhvaraśriyam ||*

1, 66, 1: *rayir ná citrā súro ná saṁdýg
 āyúr ná prāṇó nítyo ná sūnúḥ ||*

“(Agni), brilliant like wealth, (effulgent) like the sun in appearance, vivifier like the *prāṇa* (the life-breath), dear like a son.” Compare 1, 69, 5: *putrō ná jātō
 rāṇvó duroné* “pleasing in the house like a son that is born.”

3, 15, 2: *tvám no asyā uṣáso vyuṣṭau
 tvám súra údite bodhi gopáḥ |
 jánmeva nítyam tánayam juṣasva
 stómaṁ me agne tanvā sujāta ||*

“Become our protector when this dawn dawns and the sun rises; cherish, O Agni well-born of thy own self, this (dear) praise of mine as a father (cherishes) his dear son.” I follow Sāyaṇa in understanding *jánman* as father in spite of its being accented on the root-syllable; compare 7, 54, 2: *pitéva putrāṇi práti no juṣasva* and 10, 22, 3: *pitā putrám iva priyám*. Compare also 5, 42, 2 and 10, 119, 4 *putrám iva priyám*. To *nítyam* *stómaṁ* here corresponds *priyám bráhma* in 1, 75, 2; 5, 42, 2; 5, 85, 1; *priyám mánma* in 6, 68, 9; 10, 54, 6; 10, 96, 11; 2, 41, 18; *priyā maniṣā* in 6, 67, 2; *préṣṭhā matih* in 7, 88, 1; *préṣṭhā suṣṭutih* in 4, 43, 1; *préṣṭham námah* in 7, 36, 5; and *préṣṭhah stómaḥ* in 7, 34, 14; *mandrā gīḥ* in 7, 18, 3 and *mandrā hṛdáḥ* in 8, 43, 31.

10, 39, 14: *etáṁ vāṁ stómaṁ aśvinav akarmā-
 takṣāma bhṛgavo ná rátham |
 ny ḥmṛkṣāma yóṣauāṁ ná márye
 nítyam ná sūnūm tánayam dádhānāḥ ||*

“We have made this praise for you, O Aśvins; we have cut them (into shape) as Bhṛgus a chariot,

Holding it (carefully) as (parents do) a dear son, we have polished and embellished it as (one adorns) a woman for a young man."

1, 185, 2 : *bhúrim dré úcarantí cárantam
padvántam gárham apádī dadhāte |
nítyam ná sūnúm pítrór upásthe
dyávā rákṣatam pṛthivī no ábhvāt ||*

"The two, unmoving and footless, bear much offspring that has feet and moves. Like a dear son in the lap of his parents—protect us, O Heaven and Earth, from the evil being." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse; the meaning is, 'O Heaven and Earth, protect us from the evil being and give us shelter as parents shelter a dear son in their lap and ward off from him all harm.' Compare 6, 75, 4 : *mātēva putrám
bibhṛtām upásthe | ápa sátrūn vidhyatām samavidānē.*

7, 1, 21 : *tvám agne suhávo rauvásamādīk
sudīti sūno sahaso dīdīhi |
mā tvé sáca tánaye nítya á dhañ
mā viró asmán náryo ví dāsít ||*

"Thou, O Agni, art easy to invoke and of pleasing appearance; shine with bright gleams, O son of strength. Let not evil befall our dear son (when he is) with thee; may we not want a valorous son."

1, 166, 2 *nítyam ná sūnúm mādhu bibrata úpa
kriñanti kriñá vidátheṣu ghṛṣvayah |
nákṣanti rudrā ávasā namasvinām
ná mardhanti svátavaso haviṣkýtam ||*

"Carrying honey that is dear as a son, the swift terrible (Maruts) bound forward in battles. The sons of Rudra come with protection to the adorer; they, strong of themselves, do not injure him that offers oblations (to them)." The 'honey' (*mādhu*) that the Maruts are here represented as carrying is without doubt the same with which they besprinkle the earth; compare 5, 54, 8 :

*þinvanty útsam yád ináso ásvaran vy ùndanti prthivim
mádhvo ándhasā. madhu receives the epithet priyá in
eight passages; see Grassmann, s. v. *priyám* (n.); cp.
also *kámyam* *mádhvu* in 9, 72, 2. With the first pāda,
nityam ná *sūnūm* *mádhvu* *bibhrata* *úpa*, compare *nityam* ná
sūnūm *tánayam* *dádlakanah* in 10, 39, 14 explained above.*

7, 1, 12 : *yám asvī nityam upayáti yajñám
prajávantam svapatyám kṣayam naḥ |
svájanmanā sésasā vāyrdhānám ||*

This verse is obscure; I understand it as a continuation of the preceding verse¹, 'May we not sit down in the empty dwelling of men; may we not sit round thee without son, without offspring; (may we sit) in houses full of children, O thou that makest houses to prosper' and translate: "(May we sit down in) our dear dwelling with good offspring, with children, which is prospering with issue born of us, which is the seat of sacrifices, and to which (Agni), who has horses, goes." I follow Sāyaṇa in taking *yajñam* as an adjective of *kṣayam* and meaning *yajñāśraya*. There seems to be no doubt that *yajñā* is an adjective here of *kṣaya*, and that being so, it can be best interpreted here as *yajñāśraya* or *yajaniya*. The words *yajñā* and *kṣaya* occur together again in 1, 132, 3, which, too, is obscure. As regards *asvī*, Oldenberg's observations (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 4) that it refers to a human and not to a god do not seem to me to be convincing; and I still think that it refers to a god, to wit, Agni. Compare 5, 6, 1 (explained below) which describes Agni as 'the home to which the swift horses go,' that is, as the treasure-house of horses; compare also 5, 6, 2.

8, 31, 5 : *yá dámpati sámanasā sunutá á ca dhávataḥ |
dévāso nityayāśirā ||*

¹ *má śúne agne ní ṣadāma nrṇám
máścaso 'vīatā pāri tvā |
prajávatīṣu dūryāsu durya ||*

“The husband and wife, O gods, who thinking alike, press and wash (Soma and mix) with pleasing admixture.” The admixture referred to is that of milk, sour milk (*dadhi*) or barley; compare 9, 101, 8: *sám u priyā anūṣata gāvo mādāya ghīṣvayah* where the admixture of milk, *gāvah*, receives the epithet *priyā*.

4, 4, 7: *séd agne astu subhágah sudánu*
yás tvā nítyena haviṣā yá ukthaiḥ |
pípriṣati svá áyuṣi duroṇé
viṣvéd asmai sudínā sásad iṣṭih ||

“May he, O Agni, be fortunate and rich who wishes to sacrifice to thee with pleasing oblations and hymns in his house through his life. Let all (days) be fortunate days for him—such is the prayer.” The meaning of *sudánu* is not clear: Oldenberg translates it (*SBE.*, 46, p. 331) as ‘blessed with good rain,’ Grassmann (*Ueber.*) as ‘reich an Gut’ and Geldner (*Glossar*) as ‘reich-beschenk.’ There is no doubt that the two last-mentioned meanings express very nearly what the poet must have had in his mind; and I have therefore, in default of a more accurate knowledge of the meaning of the word, here rendered it as ‘rich.’ With regard to *nítyena haviṣā*, compare *priyám haviḥ* in 10, 86, 12-13, *priyátamám haviḥ* in 9, 34, 5 and *júṣtam haviḥ* in 3, 59, 5.

1, 66, 5: *durókaśocih krátur ná nítyo*
jāyéva yónāv áram viṣvasmai ||

“(Agni), of unaccustomed brilliance, dear like the ideal, like a wife in the house, ready for everything.”

8, 75, 6: *tásmai nūnám abhidyave vācā virūpa nítyayā |*
vīṣne codasva suṣṭutim ||

“Send forth now, O Virūpa, a well-made (hymn of) praise with thy dear pleasing voice towards the strong (Agni), the heavenly (?).” Regarding *nítyā vāk* here, compare *mandrā vāk* in 8, 100, 11.

9, 12, 7 : *nityastotro vánaspátir*

dhinám antáḥ sabardúghaḥ |
hinvánó mānuṣā yugā ||

“(Soma), the lord of the forest, fond of praises, who milks nectar amidst the praise-hymns and stimulates the generations of men.” As mentioned above, to *nityastotro vánaspátih* here corresponds *priyástotro vánaspátih* in 1, 91, 6.

5, 6, 1 : *agním lám manye yó vásur*
ástam yám yánti dhenávah |
ástam árvanta áśvóstam nityaso vajína
íṣam stotíbhya a bhara ||

“I praise that Agni who is a Vasu, to whom the milch-cows go home, the swift horses go home, the dear patrons go home; bring food (nourishment) to thy praisers.” The word *vajínah* in the fourth pāda which I have translated as ‘patrons’ denotes the rich men who institute sacrifices, the *yajamānah* as Sāyaṇa has correctly explained and not priests (Grassmann, *RV. Ueber*) or race-horses as Ludwig and Oldenberg (*SBE*, 46, p. 379) think. This is shown clearly by the following verse, *só agnír yó vásur grñé sám rám ayánti dhenávah*; *sám árvanto raghñudrívah* *sám sujatásah* *súrāya* *íṣam stotíbhya a bhara* which is parallel to the preceding one and where the fourth pāda mentions explicitly the *sujatásah* *súrāyah*.

1, 71, 1 : *úpa prá jinvaṇ uśatir uśántam*
pátm ná nityam jánayah sániḥaḥ |
scásárah syávam áruṣim ajuṣrañ
citrám uchántim uśásam ná gávah ||

“The loving (women) have stimulated (to activity) their lover as wives in the same bed (literally, in the same nest) stimulate (to amorous activity) their dear husband. The sisters have cherished the Dark and the Bright as the cows have cherished the brightly dawning Dawn.” The ‘loving women,’ *uśatih*, denote in all probability, the prayers that are addressed to Agni—

who is referred to here by the word *usántam*—and that are supposed to arouse him to activity, so that Agni will bring the gods to the sacrifice, carry offerings to them, etc.; see Bergaigne II, p. 68. The import of the second half-verse is obscure; see however Oldenberg, *SBE.*, 46, p. 75 f. and *RV.Noten* I, p. 73. With regard to *nityam pátim* compare *júṣṭam pátim* in 9, 97, 22; *ād im āyan vāram ā vācasānā júṣṭam pátim kalāse gāva indum* where I believe, differing from Grassmann (s.v. *vāś*), that the word *vācasānāḥ* should be derived from the root *vāś* (to wish, to desire; *vāśa kāntau*) and be interpreted in the same sense as *usatih* in this passage and in 1, 62, 11. Compare also 1, 62, 11 and the verse that follows here, 1, 140, 7.

1, 140, 7 : *sá samstíro viṣṭirah sámi grbhāyati
jānánn evá jānatir nitya ā śaye |
púnar vardhante ápi yanti devyām
anyád várpaḥ pitróḥ kṛuyate sáca ||*

“ He (*sc.* Agni) clasps (the plants, etc.) that have been laid together and have been laid out. Being intimate with them that are intimate with him, and being their dear (lover), he lies with them. They grow up again and attain to godhead; they together give another form to their parents (that is, to Heaven and Earth). ”

1, 141, 2 : *prkṣó vápuḥ pitumān nitya ā śaye
dvitiyam ā saptásivāsu mātṛṣu |
tṛtiyam asya vṛṣabhbhásya doháse
dáśa pramatim janayanta yóṣanah ||*

“ The beloved (Agni), strong, rich in food, rests in the brilliant (sun). secondly, in the seven auspicious mothers; thirdly the ten women (that is, the ten fingers) have engendered him who looks after (us), in order to milk this bull.” I have followed here the suggestion of Grassmann and PW. about reading *saptá śivāsu* and *dáśa pramatim* in the text though the text as it stands—*saptásivāsu* (seven-fold auspicious) and *dásapramatim*

(having ten to care for him; cared for by ten)—is not unintelligible. The words *dvitiyam* and *tytīyam* seem to indicate that the first pāda refers to the first ‘birth’ of Agni as the sun that shines in the sky. It is therefore possible to understand *vāpuḥ*, brilliant, as referring to the bright sky (*dyoḥ*) and to translate “The beloved Agni, strong, rich in food, entered in the brilliant sky.” With reference to the sun being ‘rich in food,’ compare Chān. Up. 3, 1, 1: *asau vā ādityo decamadhu* and also the first ten *khāṇḍas* of that chapter. In the first pada, the author of the Padapāṭha has decomposed *nitya āśaye* into *nityah āśaye*; and the translation given above follows this view. But the words *dvitiyam āsaptūśivāsu mātṛṣu* that follow seem to indicate that *nitya* too should be regarded as a locative so that the *padaccheda* would be *nitye āśaye*. The meaning in this case would be: “The brilliant (Agni), strong, rich in food, has entered in his own (place), that is, is in the sky”: see Macdonell’s *Vedic Mythology*, p. 92 and the passages referred to therein.

10, 31, 4: *nityaś cākanyāt svāpatir dámūnā
yásmā u deváḥ savitā jaśāna |
bhágo vā góbhīr aryamēm anajyāt
só asmai cāruś chadayat utú syāt ||*

“ May the friend of the house, lord of his self, the beloved, for whom god Savitṛ has begotten, be pleased; may Bhaga or Aryaman ornament him with kine (or, anoint him with butter); may he shine beautifully, may he be our shelter.”

4, 41, 10: *ásvyasya tmánā ráthyasya puṣṭér
nityasya rāyāḥ pātayāḥ syāma |
tā cakrāṇā ūtibhīr nāvyasibhīr
asmatrā rāyo niyútaḥ sacantām ||*

‘ May we be lords of prosperity in horse-herds and chariots and of beloved wealth. The two, (Indra and Varuṇa) helping us newly with their protection—may

riches come to us (together, like) a team of horses." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse where the nominative dual *tā* has no predicate. With respect to *nityasya rāyāḥ*, compare *priyāṁ vāsu* in 4, 8, 3 and 7, 32, 15, etc., *vāmāṁ vāsu* in 6, 19, 5 and *spārhāṁ vāsu* in 2, 23, 9, etc., *spṛhayāyyo rayīḥ* and *puruspṛhāṁ rayīṁ* (see Grassmann, s. v. *spṛhayāyya* and *puruspṛh*).

8, 4, 18 : *páraṁ gāvo yávasam kúc cid āghīne*
nityāṁ rékno amartya |
asmākam pūṣann avitā śivó bhava
máṁhiṣho vājasātaye ||

"O Pūṣan, brilliant, immortal, our dear wealth (namely), our kine, has gone away somewhere, to some meadow; be our gracious helper and most liberal in the winning of the wealth (that is, graciously recover them for us)." The prayer is addressed to Pūṣan, who is the recoverer of lost goods; see Macdonell's *Ed. Mythology*, p. 36. With *nityāṁ rékṇah* here, compare *priyāṁ rékṇah* in 10, 132, 3.

7, 1, 17 : *tvé agnā āhávanāni bhúri-*
sānāsa ā juhuyāma nityā |
ubhā kṛṇvánto vahatú miyédhē ||

"We, O Agni, being prosperous, offer to thee many pleasing oblations, bringing (to thee) both kinds of offerings." The meaning of the last pāda is obscure; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, p. 4. Regarding *nityā āhávanāni*, compare *nityena havīṣā* in 4, 4, 7 explained above.

2, 27, 12 : *yó rājabhya ṛtanibhyo dadāśa*
yām vardhāyanti puṣṭāyaś ca nityāḥ |
sá revān yāti prathamō rāthena
vasudāvā vidátheṣu praśastāḥ ||

"Who offers to the kings, the leaders of *rta* (sc. the Ādityas), whom wished-for prosperities cause to thrive, he being rich and the giver of riches goes first in his chariot and is praised in the assemblies."

1, 148, 5 : *ná yám ripávo ná riṣanyávo*
gárbhe sántam reṣanyá reṣáyanti |
andhá aphaṣyá ná dabhan abhikhyá
nítyāsa im̄ pretáraḥ arakṣan ||

“Whom, while in the womb, enemies that want to injure and can injure, do not injure. The blind, not seeing, did not harm; his dear well-wishers protected him with watchfulness.” *pretáraḥ*, which I have rendered as ‘well-wishers,’ literally means ‘lovers, pleasers.’ It is preferable to construe *abhikhyá*, literally, with sight, that is, with forethought, with watchfulness, with *arakṣan* rather than with *andhá aphaṣyá ná dabhan* (as Grassmann in *RV. Ueber*, Ludwig and Oldenberg, *SBE*. 46, p. 173 have done); for the translation ‘The blind, not seeing, did not injure him with their look’ hardly yields good sense. *nítyāḥ pretáraḥ* means the dear well-wishers of Agni (who is the deity of this verse), that is, the priests who are dear to Agni and to whom Agni is dear. Compare 1, 26, 7 : *priyó no astu viśpátiḥ hótā mandrō várēṇyāḥ | priyāḥ svagnáyo vayám.*

10, 7, 4 : *sidhrā agne dhíyo asmē sánutriḥ*
yám tráyase dámā ā nítyahotā |
ṛtāvā sá rohidaśvah puruksúr
dyúbhīr asmā āhabhir vāmám astu ||

“Efficacious, O Agni, and winners (of wealth) are the prayers of us¹ whom thou, the dear hotṛ in the house protectest. He, the red-horsed, is holy and has much food: may everything pleasing happen to him (the sacrificer, *yajamāna*) every day.” In the light of the foregoing, I have taken *nítyahotā* (with accent on *nítya*)

¹ Is it possible, however, that there is a word *asmē* derived from the radix *a*—meaning this (*idam*)? The correlation of *yat* in this verse and in verse 8, 63, 12 would seem to show that this is the case with the word *asmē* in these verses. Likewise, the *asmē* in verses 1, 24, 7; 1, 71, 2; 1, 102, 2; 8, 51, 10 and 10, 61, 25 seems to be of this character.

as a *karmadhāraya* compound; it is, however, also possible to regard it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'he to whom the priest, *hotṛ*, is dear'; compare *priyāḥ svagnyāyo vayām* in 1, 26, 7 cited above; compare also the following passage:

Maitr. Sam. 1, 1, 12: *nityahotāram tva kare dyumantah sam idhīmahi* |

The corresponding passage in the other *Yajus-samhitās* reads *vītīhotram tva kare dyumāntam sām idhīmahi* | *ágne bṛhāntam adhvarē* where *vītīhotram* means 'to whom the *hotra*, the office of the *hotṛ*, is dear'; compare Uvāṭa on VS. 2, 4: *vītīḥ abhilāṣah hotṛ-karmāṇi yasya sah vītīhotraḥ*. I therefore take *nityahotāram* here as a *bahuvrīhi* and translate: "We, the bright, kindle, O wise one, thee to whom the *hotṛ* is dear." Or is the word *hotṛ* here used in the abstract sense of *hotra* or *hotṛtvā—bhāva-pradhāno nirdesāḥ*? If so, *nityahotāram* would be the exact equivalent of *vītīhotram*.

Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5: *enām śiśuh krandaty ā kumāra enām dhenuh krandatu nitya-vatsā* |

"The child, the young one, cries near it; may the milch-cow to whom the calf is dear, low near it." The milch-cow lowing to her calf is a familiar figure of comparison even in the RV; compare 9, 12, 2: *abhi vīprā anūṣata gāvo vatsām ná mātārah* | *īndram* 'the priests call out to Indra as mother-cows low to their calves'; 2, 2, 2: *abhi tva nāktir usāso vavāśirēgne vatsām ná svásareṣu dhenāvah* 'to thee, O Agni, they called out at nights and at dawns as the milch-cows low to their calves in evenings'; 8, 88, 1: *abhi vatsām ná svásareṣu dhenāvā īndram girbhīr navāmahe* 'we call out to Indra with our hymns of praise as milch-cows low to their calves in evenings'; 6, 45, 25; 8, 95, 1; etc.

Ibid., 3, 2, 8: *enām śiśuh krandaty ā kumāra āsyandantām dhenāvō nitya-vatsāḥ* |

“The child, the young one cries to it; may milch-cows to whom the calf is dear, pour forth (milk from their udders) near it.” Oldenberg has here interpreted the verb *syandantām* in the sense of ‘flocking’ (*SBE*, 29, p. 93); but the reference here is to the return home of milch-cows after grazing in the pastures, eager to rejoin their calves and therefore lowing to them (this idea is expressed in *Śaṅkh.* *GS*. 3, 2, 5, explained above, by the word *krandatu*), and, as the Indian poets express it, with udders oozing milk; compare *Raghuvamśa*, 1, 84: (*anindyā Nandinī nāma dhenur āvavṛte vanāt*) *bhuvam koṣṇena kundodhni medhyenāvabhrthād* *api* | *prasravēṇābhīvarṣanti vatsāloka-pravartinā* || and *Harṣacarita* (*Nirṇayasāgara* edition. p. 80): *divasa-vihṛti-pratyāgataī* *prasnuta-stanām* *dhenu-vargam* *udgata-kṣīram*. Compare also 2, 34, 8: *dhenūr nā śīśve* *svāsareṣu* *pīnvate jānāya rātāhaviṣe mahīm iṣam* ‘they (sc. the Maruts) ooze with copious food for every man who has offered them oblations as a milch-cow oozes milk for her calf in evenings’; 10, 75, 4: *abhi tvā sindho* *śīśum* *in nā mātāro vāśrā arṣanti pāyaseva dhenāvah* ‘they (the rivers) run towards thee, O Sindhu, as milch-cows, lowing, and with (oozing) milk, run to their calves’; 9, 94, 2; *dhyāḥ pīnvānāḥ svāsare nā gāvā* *ṛtāyāntīr abhi* *vāvāśra īndum* ‘the hymns of praise, following *ṛta*, lowed to Soma as cows overflowing (with milk) low (to their calves) in the evening’; 9, 68, 1: *āsiṣyadanta gāvā* *ā nā* *dhenāvah* | *barhiṣādo vacanāvanta* *ūḍhabhiḥ* *parisrūtam* *usriyā* *nirṇijām* *dhire*; and 9, 77, 1: *abhim* *ṛtāsyā* *sudūghā* *ghṛtaścūto* *vāśrā* *arṣanti pāyaseva* *dhenāvah*; and 10, 31, 11: *prā kṛṣṇāya* *rūśad* *apīnvatōdhaḥ*.

AV. 7, 109 (104), 1: *kāḥ pṛṣṇīm dhenūm* *vāruṇena* *dattām*
ātharvāṇe *sudūghām* *nītyavatsam* |
bṛhaspatinā *sakhyām* *juṣāṇo*
yathāvāśām *tanvāḥ* *kalpayāti* ||

“Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati shall at his will make use of the spotted milch-cow,

well-milking, fond of her calf, given by Varuṇa to Atharvan?" I understand *tanvāḥ* here as equivalent to *ātmanah* so that *tanvāḥ kalpayāti* means *ātmana upakalpayati*, 'makes ready for one's own use, that is, makes use of.' Whitney translates "Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati, shall shape its body at his will—the spotted milch-cow, well-milking," etc., which is unintelligible to me.

AV. 9, 4, 21 : *ayám pīpāna īndra id
rayīm dadhātu cetanīm |
ayám dhenūm sudúghām nītyavatsām
vúśām duhām vīpascitām paró divāḥ ||*

"Let this burly one, a very Indra, bestow conspicuous wealth; let this (one) (bestow) a well-milking cow, fond of (her) calf; let him yield inspired will from beyond the sky"

This closes the list of passages where *nītya* has the meaning *priya*: it has the meaning *svīya*, *sahaja*, 'own,' in the passages that follow:

RV 7, 4, 7: *pariśādyam hy áraṇasya rékṣo
nītyasya rāyāḥ pātayaḥ syāma |
ná śeṣo agne anyájātam asty
áacetānasya nā pāthó vī duksaḥ ||*

This verse is not quite clear: but I believe that Yāska's interpretation of it (*Virukta*, 3, 2) and of the verse that follows, is on the whole correct. I therefore translate, following him, "The wealth left by a stranger is to be avoided: may we be lords of our own wealth. There is no (such thing as) offspring that is begot by another. Do not foul the paths for me that am ignorant." As pointed out by Yāska, the 'wealth' mentioned in the first half-verse means 'son': compare *śeṣaḥ* in the second half-verse and in the verses that precede and follow this. The last pāda means, "Do not, hiding the right path, point out a wrong path to me who am already ignorant; do not misguide me by saying that another's son can be *my* son."

8, 56, 2 : *dáśa máhyam pautakratáḥ
sahásrā dásyave výkah |
nityād rāyó amanīhata ||*

“ Pautakrata, the Cutter of the Foe, has given me ten thousand from his own wealth.”

9, 92, 3 : *prá sumedhā gātuvíd viśvádevah
sómaḥ puṇānáḥ sáda eti nityam |
bhúvad viśveṣu kāvyeṣu rāntā
'nu jánān yataste pánca dhírah ||*

“ Soma, the wise, the knower of ways, used (?) of all gods, being purified goes to his own seat ; he takes pleasure in all praises ; the wise one stimulates the five folks.”

1, 148, 3 : *nitye cint nū yám sádane jagrbhré
prásastibhir dadhiré yajñiyāsaḥ |
prá sú nayanta grbháyanta iṣṭāv
ásvāso ná rathyò rārahāṇāḥ ||*

“ Whom the worshipful (gods) caught hold of in his own place, carried with praises, and holding him and speeding like the horses of a chariot led him in the sacrifice.” The reference here is to the original carrying off of Agni from his place in the highest heavens by Mātariśvan, Vivasvat, Bhṛgu, the devas, etc.; compare 10, 46, 9 : *dyāvā yám agním pṛthiví jánishṭām āpas
tváṣṭā bhṛgavo yám sáhobhīḥ | iḷényam prathamám
mātariśvā devás tataksur mánave yájatram* and also Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 71. The word *yajñiyāḥ* refers to the deities above-named.

1, 140, 12 : *ráthāya návam utá no grhāya
nityāritram padvátin rāsy agne |
asmákaṁ vīrāṇ utá no maghóno
jánāniś ca yā pārāyāc chárma yā ca ||*

“ Give us for chariot and for house, O Agni, a ship that has its own oars (that is to say, that is propelled of itself) and (moves on its own) feet, that will carry over

our sons and our patrons and our people, and that is a shelter."

5, 85, 7 : *aryamyām varuna mitryām vā*
sákhāyām vā sádam id bhrātarām vā |
veśām vā nityām varuṇāraṇām vā
yát sīm āgaś cakrmā śisrāthas tát ||

"Free us from the sin, O Varuṇa, that we have at all times committed against our companion, friend, acquaintance, or brother or our own neighbour or stranger."

7, 88, 6 : *yá āpīr nityo varuṇa priyāḥ sān*
tvām āgāmī kṛṇāvat sákhā te |
mā ta énāsvanto yakṣin bhujema
yandhī smā vīpra stuvaté várūtham ||

"He, O Varuṇa, who being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil towards you,—may we not, being sinful feel (thy might), O mighty one. Grant, O thou that art wise, protection (literally, cover) to thy praiser." The *yāḥ* beginning the first half-verse has apparently no antecedent in correlation with it; but there does not seem to be any doubt that in reality it has for antecedent the plural *vayam* that is to be supplied in the third pāda; the meaning therefore is: "Though, O Varuṇa, I, being thy own dear friend and comrade, have sinned against thee, do not, O mighty one, make me suffer for it, but graciously become, thou that art wise (and therefore knowest that I am not solely responsible for such sins) the shelter and protector of me that am now praying to you." Compare in this connection the following two verses likewise addressed by Vasiṣṭha to Varuṇa—7, 87, 7 : *yó mṝyāyāti cakrūṣe cid āgaḥ* 'who (Varuṇa) is beneficent and gracious even to one that has committed sins against him' and 7, 86, 6 : *ná sá svó dákṣo varuṇa dhrūtiḥ sá súrā manyúr vibhīdako ácittih* | *ásti jyāyān kániyasa upāré svápuṇāś canéd ánytasya* *prayotā* "It is not my own impulse, O Varuṇa; it is

predestination, drink, anger, dice, or ignorance (that has led me to sin); there is the elder close to the younger (who has to bear the responsibility, either for having prompted the sin or for not having prevented its commission); even sleep is the promoter of acts against the Law (*yta*)."

3, 53, 24: *imá indra bharatásya putrā*
apapitvám cikitur ná prapitvám |
hinvánty áśvam árayam ná nítyam
jyāvājam pári nayanty ājaú ||

This verse is the last of a quartet of verses known as *vasiṣṭhadveśin্যah* as they have been written, it is said, in disparagement of the Vasiṣṭhas. It is clear that the verse speaks of the stupidity of the Bharatas; but, for the rest, its exact sense has not yet been made out: see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* I, p. 256. I translate tentatively as follows: "These sons of Bharata, O Indra, know neither the time for resting nor that for going. They ride their own horse as if it were another's; in battle, they carry round ceremoniously the (bow) strengthened with bow-string." 'Riding their own horse as if it were another's' means, not so much 'so ungeschickt und dem Tier ungewohnt wie ein fremder Jockey' (Geldner in *Ved. St.* 2, p. 160, n. 5) as 'using the horse unsparingly as if it were another's; not taking proper care of the horse'; for, it is natural on the part of the owner of the horse to use it carefully and not to beat it cruelly or make it strain its powers and go beyond its strength, while it is as natural for one who is not the owner to pay no attention to the horse or its capacity but to make it go as fast as it can be made by blows and other similar means to go. Compare the saying current in the Kannada country, *bitṭi kudure āvarike cabbe*, 'another's horse, and a rod cut from the avarike (*cassia auriculata*, Lin.; a shrub that is found almost everywhere; the rods cut from it are regarded as unusually tough) shrub

(to beat it with so as to make it go faster)' and the English proverb 'Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride it to death'. In the fourth pāda, the European interpreters have understood the word *jyāvāja* as referring to a horse and meaning 'strong (swift) as bow-string. This may perhaps be looked upon as an ordinary figure of speech in European languages in which things or persons are commonly described as being as tough or as strong as 'whipcord' or 'wire', as being 'wiry', etc. ; but, I do not know of any instance in Indian literature where the horse is described to be as strong (or as swift) as bow-string. The idea in fact is, I believe, quite unknown and wholly foreign not only to Sanskrit literature but to other Indian literatures as well. I believe therefore that Sāyaṇa is right in regarding the word as an epithet of *dhanus* understood here. The verb *pari-nī* does not mean simply 'to lead round ; to carry round' a thing or person but to do so ceremoniously (hence, *pari-nī* means also 'to marry' as in the ceremony the bride is led by hand thrice ceremoniously round the fire). The sense therefore of the fourth pāda is 'These stupid Bharatas, instead of using a bow, that is strung and ready for use, in battle to shoot arrows with, carry it ceremoniously in procession' ! Compare the first pāda of the preceding verse, *ná sāyakasya cikite janāsaḥ* 'an arrow was not thought of, O men (by these Bharatas when they brought the strung bow to the battle-field).'

This closes the list of passages in the RV in which the word *nītya* occurs. It will have been noticed that I have interpreted this word either as (1) *svīya*, *sahaja*, 'own' or as (2) *priya*, 'dear' and that such interpretation has everywhere yielded good sense. It is however true that the meaning (3) *dhruva* also (which the word *nītya* has in the Brāhmaṇas and in later literature) is not inappropriate in some of the above passages, for instance, in 4, 4, 7 ; 4, 41, 10 ; 9, 12, 7 ; 1, 73, 4 and 7, 1, 2 ; but I have felt it unnecessary to

adopt that meaning for the RV inasmuch as it is quite necessary to make use of the first two meanings in the RV and these two meanings are enough to explain all the passages (in the RV) in which the word *nitya* occurs. The assumption of the third meaning *dhruva* also for the RV would, in these circumstances, mean a needless multiplication of meanings.

As regards the first two meanings, too, it must be observed that in some passages it is difficult to choose between the two as either will do equally well in them. Thus, for instance, one can also interpret *nityam kṣayam nah* in 7, 1, 12 as 'our own house', *nityena havīṣā* in 4, 4, 7 as 'by (his) own oblation', *nityayā vācā* in 8, 75, 6 as 'with (thy) own voice', *nityād rāyāh* in 5, 8, 2 as 'from (his) desirable wealth' and *nityam sādah* in 9, 92, 3 as 'beloved seat'. In such passages, I have preferred one of them to the other and chosen what seemed to me, considering the context, to be the better of the two meanings. I believe, however, that the poet must have had both meanings in his mind when he 'wrote' such passages, and that the more correct course to follow would be to make use of both of them together in the explanation—a course that is occasionally followed by Indian commentators.³

I can not say how the (third) meaning *dhruva* came to attach itself to the word *nitya*⁴; but it is easy to

³ I cite here some instances of this kind from Sāyana's *Vedabhāṣya*. *pūrīṣam*=*udakam*, 5, 55, 5; *pūrīṣat*=*pūrakāt manḍalāt*, 10, 27, 21; *pūrīṣat*=*sarvakāmānām pūrakāt udakāt*, 1, 163, 1; (Ved. St. 1, p. vi); *āt kah*=*vyāptah*, 8, 41, 7; *ātkam*=*rūpam*, 1, 122, 2; *ātkam*=*vyāptarūpam*, 10, 123, 7; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 193); *īrinam*=*ūṣarāpiadeśam*, 1, 186, 9; *īrinam*=*nistrīnam tatākadeśam*, 8, 4, 3; *īrinam*=*nistrīnam ūṣarasthānam* *Śatap. Br.*, 7, 2, 68; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 223); *drapsām*=*drutagāminam*, 8, 96, 14; *drapsāh*=*rasah* 10, 17, 13; *drapsāh*=*drutagāmino rasāh*, 9, 106, 8; *ūrvāt*=*vistrītāt*, 4, 12, 5; *ūrvāh*=*badabānalah*, 3, 30, 19; *ūrvā*=*vistrītāgne*, *TS.* 5, 10, 6 (*Ibid.* 2, p. 269).

understand how the (second) meaning *priya* has developed from that of *svīya*, *sahaja*. What is one's 'own', is, in this world, generally, 'dear' to one, which explains how *nitya* originally meaning *svīya*, *sahaja* came to have the secondary meaning *priya* also.

It is remarkable that the converse also is true: what is 'dear' to one will generally be acquired and made one's 'own' or at least, will be the object of endeavours to acquire and make one's 'own'. Hence it has also come about that the word *priya* itself which primarily means 'dear, pleasing, agreeable,' etc., has the secondary meaning 'own'.

The number of passages in the Vedas where *priya* has the sense 'own' is indeed considerable; but, so far, in two or three passages only have the Vedic interpreters recognised that *priya*=own. One such passage is 1, 82, 2: *ákṣam̄ ámīmadanta hy áva priyā adhūṣata*

⁴ It is however of interest to note in this connection the analogy of the words *rata* and *nirata*. Both these words signify 'fond of, taking pleasure in' primarily, but they have also the secondary meaning 'engaged in; always or incessantly engaged in'. *tapo-rata* or *tapo-nirata* thus means 'fond of tapas, taking pleasure in performing tapas' and also 'engaged in tapas, always or incessantly engaged in performing tapas'; similarly *dharma-nirata*, *dhyāna-nirata*, *yajñādhyayana-nirata* mean 'fond of dharma, of dhyāna, of yajña and adhyayana' and also 'unceasingly or always engaged in the practice of dharma, of dhyāna, of sacrifice and study.' These words are thus synonyms of *tapo-nitya*, *dharma-nitya*, *dhyāna-nitya* and *yajñādhyayana-nitya* which too have the above two meanings.

It seems to me therefore that, as in the case of *rata* and *nirata*, so in the case of *nitya* also, the meaning 'always, unceasing' is a secondary meaning derived from that of 'dear'. One to whom the practice of *tapas* or the performance of sacrifice is pleasing will naturally endeavour to devote as much time as possible to such pleasing work; and hence the development of the secondary meaning 'always, unceasingly' from that of 'dear'.

Max Müller, in SBE. 32, p. 215, gives another explanation of how *nitya* came to signify 'always, unceasingly'; this explanation however seems to me to be unsatisfactory.

where Sāyaṇa explains *priyāḥ* as *svakīyās tanūḥ avādhiūṣ-ata akampayan*; Ludwig, too, translates *priyāḥ* here as 'sich' while Grassmann (*RV. Ueber.*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 83) adhere to the meaning 'dear'. Another passage is 1, 114, 7: *mā naḥ priyās tanvò rudra ririṣaḥ* (with which should be compared the parallel passage from AV. 11, 2, 29: *svām tanvām rudra mā ririṣo naḥ*) where Sāyaṇa adheres to the meaning 'dear', but which has been correctly explained by Bergaigne (III, 152) as 'nos propres corps', by Ludwig as 'unsere eigenen leiber' and by Max Müller (*SBE*. 32, p. 423) as 'our own bodies'. Max Müller has also (*op. cit.*, p. 425) added the following note: "Priya, dear, used like Gk. *philos*, in the sense of our own. See Bergaigne III, 152". With these exceptions,⁵ the word *priya* is everywhere explained as 'dear,' 'agreeable,' 'pleasant,' etc., by the exegetists, though, as said above, in a considerable number of passages, the word *priya* is used, not in that sense at all, but in that of 'own'. This is specially the case in the passages which contain compounds with *priya* as a component word:

8, 27, 19: *yád adyá súrya udyati
priyakṣatrā rtám dadhá |
yán nimrúci prabúdhi viśvavedaso
yád vā madhyámidine diváḥ ||*

"Whether you uphold ṛta, O ye that are independent, when the sun rises to-day, or when he goes down, or at midday or at daybreak (literally, at the time of awaking from sleep), O ye that possess all wealth." The hymn in which this verse occurs is addressed to the *Viśve*

⁵ Further, Oldenberg has suggested (*SBE*, 46, p. 62) that *priyā* may have the sense 'own', in 1, 67, 6. Not only in 1, 67, 6 but in 3, 5, 5; 3, 7, 7 and 4, 5, 8 does *priyā* in my opinion, mean 'own.' The sense of these passages, however, is obscure and I have therefore been unable to include them in those that follow, where *priyā* = 'own'.

devāḥ or All-Gods to whom therefore the vocatives *priyakṣatrāḥ* and *viśvavedasāḥ* refer. *priyakṣatrāḥ* here does not mean 'whose rule is agreeable (freundlich herrschend; PW, Grassmann, Ludwig)'; but *priya* here= own, *sva*, and *priyakṣatrāḥ*=*svakṣatrāḥ*, 'ruling themselves, independent'. Compare 5, 48, 1: *kád u priyāya dhāmne manāmahe svákṣatrāya sváyaśase mahé vayám* which is likewise addressed to the *Viśve devāḥ* who are here called *svákṣatrāḥ*; compare also 1, 165, 5 where the Maruts are described as *svákṣatrāḥ*. *priyakṣatra* is thus a synonym of *svákṣatra*, *svarāj*, *svápati*.

8, 71, 2: *nahi manyūḥ paúruṣeya iśc hí vah priyajāta | tvám id asi kṣápāvān ||*

"The anger of man, O (Agni) born of thyself, has no power over you; thou indeed art the ruler of the earth." *priyajāta* here does not mean 'als freund geborener' (Ludwig) or 'erwünscht geboren' (Grassmann), but is equivalent to *svajāta*, 'born of his own self', an epithet that is frequently applied to Agni; compare *agne tanvā sujāta* in 3, 15, 2; compare also the epithet *tanūnapāt*, 'son of self' used of Agni.

10, 150, 3: *tvām u jātāvedasām viśvāvāram gr̥ne dhiyā | ágne devāñ ā vaha nah priyávratān mṛlīkāya priyávratān ||*

"I praise thee, Jātavedas, that hast all desirable things, with hymn. Bring to us, O Agni, the gods, whose are the ordinances—for grace, (those) whose are the ordinances." *priyávratān*=*svavratān*, those whose are the ordinances; that is, either (1) those who follow their own ordinances (cp. 3, 7, 7: *devā devānām ánu hí vratā gúḥ* 'the gods followed the ordinances of the gods') and not those of others; that is to say, those who are independent, sovereign; or what comes to the same thing, (2) those from whom come the divine ordinances which are followed in the universe; compare

1, 164, 50: *yajñéna yajñám ayajanta devás tāni dhármāṇi prathamány āsan*; 3, 56, 1: *ná iā minanti māyino ná dhírā vratā devánām prathamā dhruvāṇi*; 1, 36, 5: *tvé cíśvā sámgaṭāni vratā dhruvā yáni devā ákṛṣvata*, and the expression *daivyāni vratām* (see Grassmann, s.v. *vratā*).

1, 140, 1: *vediṣáde priyádhāmāya sudyúte
dhāsim iva prá bharā yónim agnáyc |
vástreṇeva vásayā mánmanā śúciṁ
jyotírathām śukrávarṇām tamohánam ||*

“ Offer, like food, a place for Agni, who sits on the altar, whose are the laws and who shines well. Adorn with the hymn, as if with an ornament, (Agni), the bright, the destroyer of darkness, the brilliant-coloured, who has a chariot of splendour ”. *priyádhāmāya* = *svadhāmne* = *svāvratāya* in either of the meanings given above. Compare 3, 21, 2 where Agni is addressed as *svádharmān* ‘following his own laws’; regarding the second sense, compare the epithet *vratapāḥ* (see Grassmann, s. v.) that is applied to Agni; compare also 7, 6, 2: *agnér vratā-* *i. i. pūrvyā mahāni*; 2, 8, 3: *yásya* (sc. *agnér*) *vratām ná miyate*; 1, 69, 7: *nákiṣ ṭa* (*agnchī*) *etā vratā minanti*; and 6, 7, 5: *vaísvānara táva tāni vratāni mahāny agne nákir ā dadharṣa*. In the second pāda the word *iva* has really the force of *ca* and *dhāsim iva yonim prabhara* means *dhāsim yonim ca prabhara*.

There can be no doubt that the word *priyádhāman* has this same meaning in AV. 17, 1, 10 also: *tvám ná indrotibhiḥ śvábhiḥ súmtamo bhava | aróhaṁs tridivám divó gr̥nānáḥ sómapitaye priyádhama svastáye* “ Do thou, O Indra, be most beneficent to us with propitious aids—(thou) ascending to the triple heaven of the heaven, praised (that is, invoked) for drinking the Soma and for well-being, sovereign ”

TS. 1, 3, 8, 1: *révatir yajñápatim priyadhā visata*! The Maitr. Sam. (1, 2, 15; p. 25, l. 7) and the Kāṭh. Sam. (3, 6; p. 25, l. 13) read *revati pṛedhā yajñāpatim*

āviśa, while the Vāj. Saṁ. (6, 11) reads *révati yájamāne priyám dhā āviśa*. It seems clear therefore that *priya* has become shortened to *pre* in *predhā* and that the *anustvāra* in *priyamdhā* is an intruder.⁶ The word itself is formed from *priya* with the suffix *dhā* (see Whitney's *Grammar*, § 1104). *priyadhā* here is equivalent to *svadhā*, and I translate: "O ye that have riches, enter into the sacrificer according to your wont". The commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara takes *révatiḥ* as an epithet of *paśvavaya-vāḥ* while Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara interpret *revati* as referring to *vāk*.

priya, uncompounded, has the meaning *sva*, 'own', in the following passages:—

1, 114, 7: *mā no mahāntam utá mā no arbhakám
mā na úkṣantam utá mā na ukṣitám |
mā no vadhiḥ pītāram móta matáram
priyā mā nas tanvō rudra rīriṣaḥ ||*

"Do not injure our great or our small ones, our growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, or our own selves, O Rudra".

1, 154, 5: *tád asya priyám abhī pātho aśyām
náro yátra devayávo mādanti |
urukramásya sá hí bándhur itthā
vīṣṇoḥ padé paramé mādhva útsaḥ ||*

"May I attain the abode, where pious people rejoice, of him whose steps are broad. He is thus our relation; there is a spring of honey in the supreme abode of Viṣṇu". *priyam pāthah* here has the same meaning as

⁶ The accent on -dha in the Vāj. Saṁ. causes difficulties; and Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara hence regard *priyamdhā* (ā viśa) as two words, *priyam* and *dhāḥ* (= *dhehi*). But the Padapāṭha of the Maitr. Saṁ., too, (see Schroder's footnote 8 on p. 25) has *predhāḥ*! *priyamdhā iti priyam—dhāḥ*: and there is thus no doubt that *priyamdhā* (not -*dhāḥ*: the author of the Padapāṭha is wrong in reading -*dhāḥ*) is one word and that it is accented on the last syllable.

priyam dhāma in the passages given below ; it means the own abode of Viṣṇu, *vīṣṇoh paramām padām* as the fourth pāda expresses it, the Viṣṇuloka of later times.

1, 162, 2 : *yán nirṇijā rékṣasā prāvṛtasya
rātīm grbhītām mukható náyanti |
súprāñ ajó mémyad vīśvárūpa
indrāpūṣṇoh priyám ápy eti pāthah ||*

“ When they lead (it) in front of the offering covered with wealth and jewels (that is, of the sacrificial horse), the goat of all forms, bleating, goes directly forward to the own abode of Indra and Pūṣan ”.

10, 15, 5 : *úpahūtāḥ pītārah somyāso
barhiṣyēṣu nīdhīṣu priyēṣu |
tā ā gamantu tā iḥā śruvantv
ādhi bruvantu tē'vantv asmān ||*

“ The Soma-deserving fathers are called (to appear and seat themselves) in their own seats on the barhis. May they come here, hear us, speak assuringly to us and protect us.” This verse, as also the two preceding verses are addressed to the *barhiṣadāḥ pītārah*, the ‘pitṛs that sit on the barhis’; hence the prayer to them to take their own seats on the barhis.

9, 55, 2 : *índo yáthā tāvā stāvō yáthā te jātām ándhasah |
nī barhiṣi priyē sadah ||*

“ O Indu, according to the praise addressed to thee (that is, the prayer) and to what has happened to thy juice, seat thyself on thy own barhis (that is, on thy own seat on the barhis) ”.

8, 13, 24 : *tām īmahe pūruṣutām
yahvām pratnābhīr ūtībhīḥ |
nī barhiṣi priyē sadad ádha dvitā ||*

“ We pray to him who is often-praised, who is active with protection extending from old time ; may he seat himself on his own seat on the barhis ”.

1, 85, 7 : *tē'vardhanta svátavaso mahitvanā
nākam̄ tashthūr urú cakrire sádaḥ |
viṣṇur yád dhāvad vṛṣṇam̄ madacyútam̄
váyo ná sidann ádhi barhísi priyé ||*

“They that are naturally mighty grew with their might; they went to heaven and made a large seat. When Viṣṇu ran to the strong, intoxicating (Soma), they seated themselves in their own barhis like birds (in their nests).”

1, 189, 4 : *pāhí no agne pāyúbhīr ájasrair
utá priyé sádāna ā śuśukvān̄ |
mā te bhayám̄ jaritāram̄ yavīṣṭha
nūnām̄ vidan mā parám̄ sahasrāḥ ||*

“O Agni, do thou, shining in thy own abode, protect us with unweared protections; O thou that art strong, the youngest, may not (thy) praiser suffer from any fear of thee or from any other fear.” The expression *priyé sádāna ā śuśukvān̄* here corresponds exactly to *dīdivānsam̄ své dámē*, 2, 2, 11; *dīdivim̄* (*várdhamānam̄*) *své dámē*, 1, 1, 8; *gopā rtásya dīdihi své dámē*, 3, 10, 2; *svá ā yás túbhyaṁ dámā ā vibhāti*, 1, 71, 6; *yó dīdāya sámiddhaḥ své duroṇé*, 7, 12, 1; and *dīdyan̄ mártyeṣṭ ā* | *své kṣáye śucivrata* in 10, 118, 1.

10, 13, 4 : *devébhyāḥ kám avṛṇīta mṛtyūm̄
prajāyai kám amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇīta |
bṛhaspátim̄ yajñám akṛṇvata ṛṣīm̄
priyām̄ yamás tanvām̄ prārirecīt ||*

“He held back death from the gods; he did not hold back immortality from men; he made Bṛhaspati the sacrifice and the ṛṣī; Yama let our own body (or self) remain”.

9, 73, 2 : *samyák samyáñco mahiṣā aheṣata
síndhor ūrmáv ádhi vená avītipan̄ |
mádhor dhārābhir janáyanto arkám ít
priyām̄ índrasya tanvām̄ avīvṛdhan̄ ||*

“ The beautiful strong ones have moved well forward ; the loving ones have moved in the wave of the sea ; with the streams of mead producing a song, they have made Indra’s own body grow.”

10, 132, 5 : *asmīn sv̄ ètāc chākāpūta éno
hité mitré nígatān hanti virān |
avór vā yád dhāt tanūśv
ávah̄ priyāsu yajñiyāsv̄ árvā ||*

“ Śakapūta kills the brave men that have committed this sin in respect of this well-disposed Mitra when the courser placed his strength in the own worshipful bodies of these two (sc. of Mitra and Varuṇa)”. The meaning of this verse is not clear and widely-divergent explanations are given of it by Sayaṇa and Ludwig. It is difficult to say who is denoted by the term *arvā* (courser) in pāda 4 and if the word *śakapūta* is really a proper name.

2, 20, 6 : *sá ha śrutá índro nāma devá
ūrdhvó bhuvan mānuṣe dasmātamah̄ |
ávā priyám arśasānásya sāhvāñ
chíro bharad dāsásya stadhāvān ||*

“ He, the god known by the name of Indra, of most wonderful might, raised himself aloft high over man ; he, the mighty conqueror, brought down the own head of the evil-doing dāsa.”

8, 12, 32 : *yád asya dhāmani priyé samīcīnāso ásvaran |
nābhā yajñásya dolánā prādhvaré ||*

“ When the united ones (priests?) made a sound (song?) in his own abode, in the navel of the sacrifice, by milking in the sacrifice.”

6, 67, 9 : *prá yád vāñ mitrāvaruṇā spūrdhán
priyá dhāma yuvádhitā minánti |
ná yé devása óhasā ná mártā
áyajñasāco ápyo ná putrāḥ ||*

“When they, O Mitra and Varuṇa, become jealous of you and violate the own ordinances laid down by you—they, who are by repute no gods and no mortals, who, like the sons of Apī, are no performers of sacrifice.” The second half-verse is not clear; in the first half-verse, the expression *priyā dhāma yuvādhitā* ‘the own ordinances laid down by you,’ is equivalent to ‘your own ordinances; the ordinances laid down by you in person’.

3, 55, 10 : *vīṣṇur gopāḥ paramāṁ pāti pāthah
priyā dhāmāny amṛtā dādhānah |
agniś tā vīśvā bhūvanāni veda
mahād devānām asuratvām ékam ||*

“Viṣṇu, the protector, rules over the supreme realm, supporting his own immortal abodes: Agni knows all those worlds. The asura-hood (might ?) of the gods is alone great.”

4, 5, 4 : *prá tāñ agnīr babhasat tigmājambhas
tāpiṣṭhena sóciṣā yáḥ surādhāḥ |
prá yé minānti várūṣasya dhāma
priyā mitrásya cétato dhruvāṇi ||*

“May Agni, who has sharp jaws and who makes good gifts, eat up with his hottest flames those who violate the own immutable ordinances of Varuṇa and of Mitra who observes (or, who knows).”

1, 87, 6 : *śriyáse káṁ bhānúbhīḥ sám mimikṣire
té raśmíbhīs tá jīvabhiḥ sukhādáyāḥ |
té vāśimanta iṣmīyo ábhīrāvō
vidré priyásya mārutasya dhāmnaḥ ||*

“For their glory, they (sc. the Maruts) united themselves with bright reins and brilliant (ornaments): they, with beautiful khadis and axes, impetuous, fearless, knew of their own Marut troop”. The meaning of the fourth pāda is not clear as the word *dhāma* used in it is ambiguous.

9, 12, 8 : *abhi priyā divás padā sómo hinvānó arṣati |*
víprasya dhārayā kavīḥ ||

“The wise Soma being impelled flows swiftly with (his) stream (and with the hymn of praise) of the priest to his own places in heaven”.

9, 38, 6 : *esá syá pitáye sutó hárir arṣati dharṇasih |*
krándan yónim abhi priyám ||

“This strong, yellow (Soma), that is expressed for being drunk, rushes crying to his own place.”

4, 45, 3 : *mádhvah pibatam madhupébhir ásábhīr*
utá priyám mádhune yuñjāthām rátham |
ā vartaním mádhunā jinwathah pathó
dýtiṁ vahethe mádhumantam ásvinā ||

“Drink, O ye Aśvins, of mead with your mead-drinking mouths; yoke your own chariot for the purpose of (drinking) mead; you stimulate with mead the course of the path; you carry a leather-bag of mead”.

6, 51, 1 : *úd u tyác cáksur máhi mitráyor áñ*
éti priyám várūṇayor ádabdhām |
ṛtásya śúci darsatám ánikam
rukmó ná divá úditā vy àdyaut ||

“This great own eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, which cannot be deceived, arises; the pure and beautiful face of ṛta has blazed forth in rising like a brilliant jewel in the sky”.

4, 52, 7 : *ā dyáṁ tanosi rāsmibhir*
āntárikṣam urú priyám |
úṣaḥ śukréṇa sōciṣā ||

“Thou extendest the heaven with thy rays and also thy own broad sky with thy radiance, O Uṣas’. The sky, *antarikṣa*, is called “Uṣas’ own’ probably because Uṣas is an *antarikṣa-sthāniya-devatā* and the *antarikṣa* thus belongs to her.

1, 124, 4 : *ú̄bo aharśi śundhyú̄ro ná vákṣo
nodhā ivāvīr akṛta priyāṇi |
admasán ná sasatō bodháyanti
śaśvattamāgāt pūnar eyūṣinām ||*

“The breast (that is, the upper body) of Uṣas has come to view like that of a resplendent (young) woman; she has made manifest her own (greatness) like *nodhas*: waking the sleepers like the hotṛ, she has come again, the most frequent comer of those that come again”. After *priyāṇi*, own, I supply the word *mahimnāḥ* following 7, 75, 1 : *vy uṣā āvo divijā rténāviśkrūtānā mahimānam āgāt*. The same word, or, if a neuter noun be deemed necessary, the word *mahitvam* or *mahitvanam*, it seems to me, should be supplied also in 4, 4, 5 : *āvīś kṛṇuṣva daīvyanī agne* (*daīvyanī=daīvyanī mahitvani*; *daīvyanī vīryāṇi*; Sāyaṇa supplies *tejāmīśi*) and 2, 23, 14 : *āvīś tāt kṛṣva yād ásat ta ukthyām* (*yat=yat mahitvam*; *yād vīryam*; Sāyaṇa has *yād vīryam*). *nodhas* still remains an obscure word and its meaning is unknown.

priya means ‘own’ in the following passages also : TS. 5, 1, 5, 2 : *chāndānīsi khālu vā agnēḥ priyā tanūḥ | priyāyaivainam tanūvā páridadāti* “the *chandānīsi*, indeed, are the own body (self) of Agni; he covers him with his own body (self)”; *ibid.*, 5, 1, 6, 2 : *eṣā vā agnēḥ priyā tanūr yād ajā priyāyaivainam tanūvā sāñsi jati* “this namely, the she-goat, is verily the own body (self) of Agni; he unites him with his own body (self)”; *ibid.*, 5, 7, 3, 4 : *eṣā khālu vā agnēḥ priyā tanūr yād vaiśvanarāḥ | priyāyam evainam tanūvam prátishṭhāpayati* “this, namely, Vaiśvanara, is verily Agni’s own body; he establishes him in his own body” (compare *vaiśvanara iti vā agnēḥ priyām dhama* “Vaiśvanara is Agni’s own body” in Tāṇḍya Br. 14, 2, 3; and Ait. Br. 3, 8, 6-7); TS. 5, 3, 10, 3 : *etād vā agnēḥ priyām dhāma yād ghṛtām prijēyaivainam dhāma sāmardhayati* “this namely, ghee, is verily the own form of Agni; he makes him thrive with his own

form"; KS. 20, 1: *agner vā eṣā vaiśvānarasya priyā tanūr yat sīkataḥ* "this, namely, sand, is verily the own body of Agni"; *ibid.*, 21, 3: *priyayaivaināṁ tanvā samardhayati* "he makes him thrive with his own body (form)".

Likewise, it means 'own' in VS. 2, 17: *agnēḥ priyāṁ pātho' pītam* "Go to the own abode of Agni"; in VS. 8, 50: *agnch, indrasya, viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ, priyam pātho' pīhi* "Go to the own abode of Agni, Indra, Viśvedevas" (compare *svāṁ pātho apītha* 'go to your own abode' in ĀŚS. 1, 11, 8); and AV. 2, 34, 2: *pramuñcānto bhūvanasya réto gātūṁ dhatta yájamānāya devāḥ | upākṛtaṁ sāśamānām yád ásthāt priyāṁ devānāṁ ápy etu pāthah* "Do ye, releasing the seed of being, show the way to the sacrificer, O gods; what, brought hither and immolated, stood up, living, let it go to the own abode of the gods (compare TS. 3, 1, 4, 3: *upākṛtaṁ sāśamānām yád ásthāj jīvāṁ devānāṁ ápy etu pāthah* and TS. 5, 1, 11, 4: *áśvo ghṛtēna tmānyā sāmakta úpa devāñ rtyuśāḥ pāthah etu*)." And similarly *priya* means 'own' in TS. 1, 5, 3, 2-3: *saptā te agne samīdhaḥ saptā jihvāḥ saptā ḥsayāḥ saptā dhāma priyāni* and in *ibid.*, 1, 5, 4, 4: *saptā sapta vāi saptadhāgnēḥ priyās tanūvāḥ*.

In the same way there can be no doubt that *priya* generally means 'own' in the expression *priyam dhāma* which occurs fairly frequently in the Yajus-samhitās and Brāhmaṇas and is interpreted by Böhtlingk and Roth (s.v. *dhāma*) as 'gewohnte Heimath, Lieblingsstätte, Lieblingssache, Liebhaberei, Lieblings-name,-preise, -person' and by Geldner (*Glossar*, s.v. *dhāma*) as 'das liebe Wesen, die liebe Persönlichkeit, Lieblingsname, die liebe Person,' etc.; thus:

Kauś. Up. 3, 1: *pratardano ha daivodāśir indrasya priyam dhāmopajagāma yuddhena pauruṣena ca | tam hendra uvāca pratardana varām te dadānīti ||*

"Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's own abode by means of battle and valour. Indra said to him,

‘Pratardana, I grant thee a boon.’” *Indrasya priyam dhāma* here does not mean ‘Freundschaft, Gunst, Liebe’ of Indra (as Geldner would have it) or ‘gewohnte Heimath’ of Indra (PW), but ‘Indra’s own abode’, the domain that he rules over and that is known as Indraloka or *svarga* in later literature which Pratardana won through his valour in battle (see Macdonell in *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Pratardana*). The allusion here is to the well-known belief of the Indian writers that those who die in battle fighting valiantly go to heaven; compare Manu, 7, 89: *āhavēṣu mitho 'nyonyam jīghāṁsanto mahīkṣitah | yudhyamānāḥ paramaṁ śaktyaṁ svargam yānty aपarāṁmukhāḥ*, and Kautilya’s *Arthaśāstra*, 10, 3 (p. 365): *vedeṣv aपy anuśrūyate—samāpta-dakṣiṇānāṁ yaजnānāṁ avabhyrtheṣu sā te gatir yā sūrāṇāṁ iti . . . yān yaजnasaṅghais tapasā ca viपrāḥ svargaiṣiṇah pātracayaś ca yānti | kṣaṇena tān aपy aपiyānti sūrāḥ prāṇān suyuddhेषu pārityajantah.*

Ait. Br. 6, 20, 9-10: *etena vai vasiṣṭha indrasya priyam dhāmopāgacchat | sa paramam lokam ajayat | upendrasya priyam dhāma* (Aufrecht’s edition reads *lokam* here which is incorrect) *gacchati jayati paramam lokam ya evam veda ||*

“By means of this (*sūkta*; hymn of praise), verily, Vasiṣṭha attained the own abode of Indra, he won the highest world; he who knows this goes to Indra’s own abode, wins the highest world.”

And similarly, in *ibid.*, 5, 2, 5: *etena vai gṛtsamada indrasya priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; 5, 2, 12: *gayah plāto viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; 1, 21, 6: *etābhīr hāśvinoḥ kakṣīvān priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6: *etēna vai vatsaprīr bhālandanō 'gnēḥ priyām dhāmāvārundaha*; *ibid.* 5, 2, 3, 4: *etēna vai viśvāmitro 'gnēḥ priyām dhāmāvārundha*; and in *ibid.*, 5, 3, 11, 3: *agnēḥ priyām dhāma, rtūnāṁ priyām dhāma*, I take *priya* in the sense of ‘own’ and *dhāma* in the sense of ‘abode.’ With regard to the latter word, the meaning of

‘ Persönlichkeit, Wesen, Form’, suggested by Geldner is however not unsuitable in these passages which can be translated as “By means of this (hymn of praise) Gr̄tsamada attained verily the own personality of Indra”, etc.; for, in similar passages in later literature that describe the virtue of hymns of praise (*stotra*) or of mantras, we read not only that the author of the hymn of praise and the others that made use of the *stotra* or mantra in question (compare *upā agneḥ, indrasya, priyāṁ dhāma gacchati ya evāṁ veda* in the above passages) attain the world of the particular deity (*sāyujyāṁ gacchati, salokatāṁ āpnoti*) that is addressed by the *stotra* or mantra but also that they become such deity itself (*sarūpatāṁ āpnoti*). Compare for instance, Lalitāsaḥasra-nāmaṣotra (Nirṇaya-sāgara ed., v. 289 ff.): *pratimāsaṁ paurṇamāsyāṁ ebhir nāmaṣaḥasrakaiḥ | rātrau yaś cakra-rajasthāṁ arcayet paradevatām || sa eva lalitārūpaḥ tadrūpā lalitā svayam | na tayor vidyate bhedo bhedakṛt pāpakyd bhavet ||*; Avyaktopaniṣat, Kh. 7: *ya imāṁ vidyāṁ adhīte . . . dehānte tamasah param dhāma prāpnuvāt | yatra virāt nṛsimhōvabhāsate . . . tatsvarūpa-dhyānaपरā munaya ākalpante tasminn eva liyante*; Tripurātāpini Upaniṣat, 4: *om namaś śivāyeti yājuṣamantropāsako rudratvāṁ prāpnoti*; and Rāmarahasyopaniṣat, Ch. 5: *rāmamantrāṇāṁ kṛta-puraścaraṇo rāmacandro bhavati*.

priya means ‘own’ in the other passages too given in PW. Thus, VS. 1, 31: *dhāma nāmāsi priyāṁ devānām* “Thou art the gods’ own form and name”; *ibid.*, 2, 6: *priyēṇa dhāmnā priyāṁ sāda āśīda* “Sit in thy own seat in thy own form”; *priyā dhāmāni* and *priyā pāthāṁsi* in VS. 21, 46 ff. mean ‘own abodes, own domains’; Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devā justās tanūḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni sārdham samavādādīre* “The gods took together portions from their own selves, from their own powers”; *ibid.*, 10, 1, 3, 11: *etad dhāsyā priyāṁ dhāma yad yāviṣṭha iti* “This is indeed his own name, that of ‘youngest’”; and *ibid.*, 2, 3, 4, 24: *āhutayo vā asya priyāṁ dhāma* “The

oblations are indeed the own essence of him"; *priyenaivainam dhāmnā samardhayati, saṁsparśayati, pratyeti, etc.*) "With his own body (or form, or nature, etc.) he makes him thrive (covers him, etc.)."

The word *svā*, which, like *nitya*, primarily means 'own,' seems likewise to be used in the sense of *priya* in some passages. Instances of such usage are:

2, 5, 7 : *svāḥ svāya dhāyase*
krnutām rtvīg rtvījam |
stōmām yajñām cād áram
vanémā rārimā vnyām ||

"May the beloved (Agni), the priest, for the sake of dear food, make ready the (human) priest; may he then control the praise and sacrifice; we have offered (oblations)". The sense of this verse is obscure and 1, 31, 13 where the words *dhāyase*, *vanoṣi* and *mantram* occur, scarcely helps here. But *svā* seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here; compare the passages given above where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding *svām dhāyāḥ* compare 10, 112, 4: *priyébhīr yāhi priyám ánnam áccha* and note the repetition of the word *priya* here similar to that of *svā* in the above verse. Compare also 1, 58, 2: *ā svám ádma yuvámāno ajárah . . ataséṣu tiṣṭhati* where too perhaps *svā* means 'dear'.

3, 31, 21 : *ádediṣṭa vrtrahā gópatir gā*
antāḥ kṛṣṇān aruṣaīr dhāmabhir gāt |
prá sūnytā disámāna rténa
dúras ca vísvā avṛṇod ápa svāḥ ||

"The destroyer of Vṛtra, the lord of cows, has given cows; with his bright troops he penetrated into the dark ones. Bestowing riches rightly, he has opened all the dear doors." To interpret the last pāda as 'he has opened all his own doors' hardly yields any sense; I therefore take *svāḥ* here as equivalent to *priyāḥ*. Compare 1, 142, 6: *pāvakásāḥ puruspýho dváro devír asaścátah*; 7, 17, 2: *utá dvára uśatir ví śrayantām* and

10, 70, 5 : *ví śrayadhvam . . . uśatír dvārah* where the doors are called 'much-beloved, dear'. The 'dear' doors are, evidently, those that give access to the chamber or other receptacle that contains wealth (compare, *rāyo durah* in 1, 68, 10 : *ví rāya aurñod dírah purukṣuh*) ; and the epithet 'dear' seems to be transferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the RV. as being 'dear'; compare 4, 41, 10 given above and the passages cited in connection therewith.

10, 120, 8 : *imā bráhma bṛháddivo vivakt-
índrāya śuśáṁ agriyáḥ svarṣáḥ |
mahó gotrásya kṣayati svarājo
dúraś ca vísvarā aurñod ápa sváḥ ||*

"These mighty hymns Bṛhaddiva speaks out for Indra. He, the foremost, the winner of light, is the lord of the mighty and independent stone; he has opened all the dear doors". By the 'mighty and independent stone' is here meant the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra with which he opens the doors of the receptacle containing riches and which is elsewhere called *adri*, *parvata* and *asman*: compare 4, 22, 1 : *yó* (sc. *indrah*) *ásmānam śávasā bíbhrad éti*; 6, 22, 6 : *manojúvā svatavaḥ párvatena | ácyutā cid vīlitā svojo rujáḥ*; and 1, 51, 3 : *saséna cid vimadáyavaho vásu ājáv ádrim vāvasānásya nartáyan*. The epithet *svarāj*, 'independent,' indicates perhaps that the Vajra is irresistible and overcomes all.

8, 70, 11 : *anyávratam ámānuṣam
áyajvānam ádevayum |
áva sváḥ sákhā dudhuvīta párvataḥ
sughnáya dásyum párvataḥ ||*

"May the dear friend Parvata shake off him who follows another's ordinance, who is not human, who does not sacrifice, who is impious; and may Parvata (shake off) the Dasyu for swift death (?)".

3, 31, 10: *sam̄pāśyamānā amadann abhī svām
pāyah pratnāsyā rétaso dūghānāḥ |
vī rōdāśī atāpad ghōṣa eṣāṁ
jātē niṣṭhāṁ ádadāhur gōṣu vīrāṁ ||*

“ Seeing and milking the milk of the old one’s semen, they (the Aṅgirases) gladdened the dear (Indra). Their shout warmed the two worlds; they placed him the foremost in what is born (that is, in the creation); they placed heroes amidst the kine (or, in the kine)”. I understand this verse as referring to the winning of the sun which also is one of the exploits of Indra in association with the Aṅgirases; see Macdonell’s *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 61 and 143. The ‘old one,’ *pratna*, is Dyaus or Heaven and his ‘seed,’ *retāḥ*, is the sun; compare 8, 6, 30: *ād ít pratnāsyā rétaso jyōtiṣ paśyanti vāsarām*; 1, 100, 3: *divó ná yásya rétaso dūghānāḥ*; 5, 17, 3: *divó ná yásya rétasaḥ brhāc chōcānty arcāyāḥ*; and 10, 37, 1: *divás putrāya súryāya śāṁsata*. The second pāda therefore means, ‘making the sun appear’. In the first pāda, the word *svām* has been interpreted by Geldner (*Kommentar*, p. 51), following Sāyaṇa, as *svakiyāṁ godhanam* and the verb *abhi amadan* in the sense of ‘rejoicing’ (*Glossar*; sich freuen über). The combination *abhi mad* is however met with in another verse of the RV, namely, in 1, 51, 1: *abhī tyāṁ meśāṁ puruhūtāṁ ṛgmiyāṁ īndram gīrbhīr madata* where it has the sense, not of ‘rejoicing’ but of ‘gladdening’. I believe that this is the sense here also, and that *amadann abhi svām* means ‘they gladdened the dear (Indra),’ that is to say, that they praised him; compare 1, 62, 5: *gruānō ángirobhir dasma vī var uṣāsā súryeṇa góbhīr ándhāḥ*. Compare also 1, 142, 4; 5, 5, 3; 8, 50, 3; and 8, 98, 4 where the epithet *priya* is used of Indra. In the last pāda, the expression ‘they placed heroes in the kine (or, amidst the kine)’ is not very intelligible to me; Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* 1, p. 241) suggests that it

means that 'they exerted themselves in such a way that the heroes were no more cut off from the possession of cows.'

AV. 6, 83, 4 : *vihí svām áhutim juṣāṇó mánasā
svāhā mánasā yád idám juhómi* |

"Consume the dear oblation, enjoying with the mind, hail, as now I make oblation with the mind."

AV. 3, 19, 3 : *nīcaih pādyantām ádhare bhavantu
yé naḥ sūrīm maghāvānam pṛtanyān |
kṣiṇāmi brāhmaṇāmītrān
ún nayāmi svān ahám* ||

"Downward let them fall, let them become inferior, who may fight against our liberal patron. With my incantation, I destroy the enemies ; I raise those that are dear (to me)." Though the interpretation of *svān* as '(my) own people' is not unsuited here, the contrast between *amitrān* and *svān* shows that the latter word has here the sense of 'those that are dear to me ; those whom I like ; friends.'

AV. 7, 77, 5 : *taptó vām gharmó nakṣatu sváhotā
prá vām adhvaryús caratu pāyastvān |
mádhor dugdhásyāśvinā tanāyā
vītám pātám pāyasa usrīyāyāh* ||

"The *gharma* is heated for you ; let the dear hot approach ; let the adhvaryu, rich in milk, move forward. Eat ye, O Aśvins, of this milked sweet ; drink ye of this cow's milk." The word *tanāyāh* is obscure and I have followed Ludwig here in translating it as 'this.' Regarding *sváhotā*, compare what has been said above under *nītyahotā*. Compare also 7, 73, 2 : *ny ù priyó mānuṣah sādī
hótā násatyā yó yájate vāndate ca | aśnītám mádho aśvinā
upākú ā vām voce vidátheṣu pṛayastvān* where the expressions *priyo hotā*, *aśnītām madhvo aśvinā*, and *pṛayastvān* are parallel to *svahotā*, *madhor aśvinā vītam*, and *pṛayastvān* (for, this is the correct reading, found, as is noted by

Whitney in his *Translation*, in the Kauśika-sūtra and the Vaitāna-sūtra and also in Sāyaṇa's commentary, and not *payasvān*) in the above verse.

10, 21, 1 : *āgnīm ná svávṛktibhir hótaram tvā vṛṇimahे | yajñāya stiryábarhiṣe vī vo móde sīrām pāvakásociṣam vīvakṣase ||*

“ As Agni, we, with pleasingly-cut (hymns of praise), choose thee hotṛ for the sacrifice where the *barhis* is spread— thee that art burning and that hast clear light.” Compare *priyā taṣṭāni*, pleasingly-cut, pleasingly-fashioned (limbs) in 10, 86, 5 and the verses 1, 130, 6 ; 5, 2, 11 ; 5, 29, 15 ; 5, 73, 10 ; etc., which speak of hymns being ‘cut’ or ‘fashioned’ into shape. Concerning the refrain, *vī vo móde . . . vīvakṣase*, which is not here translated, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 221 and the literature referred to therein.

8, 32, 20 : *pīha svádhainavānām utá yás túgrye sáca | utāyám indra yás táva ||*

“ Drink of these (Somas that are mixed) with pleasing milk; and what is with Tugrya and that which is here, O Indra, are thine.” *svádhainavānām* is equivalent to *priyadhainavānām*: the reference is to the milk which is added to the Soma juice. Compare 9, 101, 8 : *sám u priyā anūṣata gāvo módāya ghṛṣvayah | sómāsaḥ kṛṇvate pāthah pāvamānāsa índavah*; compare also 9, 32, 5 : *abhi gāvo anūṣata yóṣā jārám iwa priyám*; 9, 1, 9 : *abhi móam ághnyā utá śriṇānti dhenávah síśum | sómam índrāya pātave*; 9, 9, 1 : *pári priyā diváh kavír vāyāmisi naptyor hitah | suvānó yāti kavíkratuh.*

VS. 22, 19 : *ihá dhṛtir ihá svádhṛtiḥ svāhā |*
“ Here steadiness; here pleasing steadiness, hail.”

In the above translations, I have assumed that the words *svávrkti*, *svádhainava* and *svádhṛti* have really the word *sva* as a component, in which case *priyavṛkti*, *priyadhainava* and *priyadhṛti* are the best equivalents

for them. I do not however feel certain that this assumption is correct; or rather, I feel inclined to believe that the word *sva* is not really a component of these words at all. We know that in Sanskrit there exist a number of words beginning really with *su-* but having a variant form beginning with *sva-*. As examples of such, I may cite the following from PW—*svagupta*, *svagr̥kitanāman*, *svadhā*, *svadhita*, *svadhiti*, *svastha*, *svabrahmaṇyā*, *svabhadrā*, *svavāsinī*, and *svarāṣṭra* (proper name of a people), *svapura* (name of a town), *svabhūmi* (proper name), and *svareṇu* (proper name) all which have also forms beginning with *su-* instead of *sva-*. The word *sujana* occurs in the form *svajana* in *Ind. Spr.* (II), 6672, *svajana-durjanyoh*, and it is remarked in PW ‘nicht selten werden *svajana* und *sujana* mit einander verwechselt.’ Similarly, the PW gives references to passages where the word *svaprakāṣṭa* has the meaning ‘clear,’ that is, of *suprakāṣṭa*. In the RV itself, we have the form *svadhā*, nectar, instead of *sudhā* and the form *sváyaśastaram* in 8, 60, 11 where the SV reads *suyaśastaram*. I am inclined to think that the words *sváyṛkti*, *svádhainava*, and *svádhṛti* also belong to this class and that they are but variants of the words *suṛykti*, *sudhainava* and *sudhṛti*. Of these latter, the word *suṛykti* occurs frequently in the RV. It is derived from the root *ṛ̥c* in PW but I believe that it really comes from the root *vṛ̥j* ‘to cut’ (compare the word *vṛ̥kta-barhis*) and that the meaning is ‘well cut, well-fashioned’; see what has been said above under 10, 21, 1. I would therefore translate the passages 10, 21, 1; 8, 32, 20; and VS. 22, 19 as follows: “As Agni, we with well-fashioned (hymns) choose thee hotṛ for the sacrifice,” etc. ; “Drink of these Somas that are well mixed with good milk,” etc. ; and “Here steadiness; here good steadiness, hail!”. With regard to the VS passage, the commentator Uvaṭa, I may here observe, has paraphrased *svadhṛti* by *sādhu-dhṛti* which seems to show that he too regarded it as a variant of *sudhṛti*.

Wackernagel, in his *Altindische Grammatik* II, § 33b (p. 81), refers to the frequently-expressed opinion, the best exposition of which is by Zubaty' in KZ, 31, p. 52ff., that *su-* in compounds has, in addition to itself, an *ablaut* form *sva-*, and observes that the examples adduced by Zubaty' namely, *svadhā-sudhā*, *svadhiti-sudhiti*, and *svadhita-sudhita* are too few in number to justify such an opinion. The number of examples, however, is not, as he thinks, restricted to the three mentioned here; for we have already met with two more examples above—*svāvṛkti-suवृkti*, *svāyaśastara-suyaśastara* and we shall meet with some more presently. And, secondly, the statement that ' *su-* has in addition to itself an *ablaut* form *sva-* in compounds' gives but a partial and incorrect representation of the real fact, namely, that in Sanskrit, and in the Vedic language also, there occur a certain number of words beginning with *su-* that have got variant forms beginning with *sva-* or, alternatively, that there occur a certain number of words beginning with *sva-* that have got variant forms beginning with *su-*. This does not mean that the first word in all such compounds is in reality *su* and that the form beginning with *sva-* is a variant of this; for there occur some compounds in which the first word is really *sva* and in whose case the form beginning with *su-* is a variant of such original form with *sva-*. Compare Tait. Up. 2, 7: *asad vā idam agra āśit | tato vai sad ajāyata | tad ātmānaṁ svayam akuruta | tasmāt tat sukṛtam ucyata iti*; the word *sukṛta* here stands patently for *svakṛta* and is thus a variant of it; compare Śaṅkara's commentary thereon: *sukṛtam svayam-kartr ucyate* and Śaṅkarānanda's scholium, *sukṛtam svārthe 'yam soḥ prayogah | scena samskyrtavat svakṛtam*. Compare also Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 1: *esa vah panthāḥ sukṛtasya loke* (Śaṅkara: *sukṛtasya svayam nirvartitasya karmaṇo loke*); ibid., 1, 2, 6: *esa vah puṇyah sukṛto brahma-lokaḥ* and also ibid., 1, 2, 10: *nākasya pṛṣṭhe te sukṛte 'nubhūtvā imāṁ lokāṁ hinataram vā viśanti* where too in all

probability *sukṛtah*=*svakṛtah*: and Kaṭha Up. 1, 3, 1: *ṛtaṁ pibantau sukṛtasya loke chāyāṁ pravīṣṭau parame parārdhe* where Śaṅkara has explained *sukṛtasya* as *svayam kṛtasya karmanah*. It must therefore be understood that in the case of compounds that occur in two forms, one beginning with *su-* and the other with *sva-*, the original form may be either the one beginning with *su-* or the one beginning with *sva-*. And as a corollary, it has also to be admitted that in the case of compounds that occur in one form only, either beginning with *su-* or beginning with *sva-*, it is possible that such form beginning with *su-* or *sva-* may not be the original form of the word at all, but only a variant of the original form beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be.

In other words, when we meet with compounds with *su-* or *sva-*, it is desirable to investigate first if such compound occurs in both forms or in one form only. In the latter case, one should further find out which of the two words, *su* and *sva*, gives the better meaning for the compound in connection with the passage where it occurs and determine accordingly the original form of the word and its meaning and also whether the word occurs in the given passage in its original form or in a variant form. The same thing has to be done in the former case also; but if, as sometimes happens, both the words *su* and *sva* are found to give the better meaning, each in its own context, one should postulate two original forms, beginning with *su* and *sva* respectively, and interpret the words accordingly: if, on the other hand, one only of the two words, *su* and *sva*, is found to give a good meaning (or the better meaning) in all the passages (where the compound occurs in either form), one should postulate one original form (beginning with *su-* or *sva-* as the case may be) and regard the other form (beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be) as a variant of it and interpret the passages accordingly.

The bearing of the foregoing remarks may perhaps be better understood from a consideration of some

compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The words *svákṣatra-sukṣatrá* both occur in the RV; and the originality of the form *svákṣatra* is proved by the occurrence of the parallel word *priyakṣatra*; see above. One has therefore to consider if the word *sukṣatrá*, in the passages where it occurs, gives a better meaning when one regards it as occurring in its original form and therefore interprets it as 'having excellent dominion' (*śobhanam kṣatram yasya*) or when it is regarded as a variant of the word *svakṣatra* and therefore interpreted as 'whose is dominion' (*svam kṣatram yasya*), that is, 'ruling over others; sovereign.' Considering that the word *sukṣatrá* is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods, and that in their case, the meaning 'sovereign; ruling over others' is more appropriate and forceful than that of 'having excellent dominion,' I feel inclined to give preference to the latter of the above meanings and thus to regard *sukṣatrá* as a variant of the original form *svákṣatra*, which, too, be it noted, is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods. On the other hand, in the case of the words *suścandrá-sváscandra* both occurring in the RV, I consider that the interpretation 'well-shining' is, in every passage, to be preferred to that of 'shining of itself,' 'self-shining'; and I therefore regard *sváscandra* in 1, 52, 9, the only passage where it occurs, as equivalent to *suścandrá* and as meaning 'well-shining.' As regards the words *suhótṛ* (RV)—*sváhotṛ* (AV), the occurrence of the word *nityahotṛ* (see p. 14 above) seems to show that the latter form (in AV. 7, 77, 5) is original and should be interpreted in the same way as *nityahotṛ*, while the juxtaposition of the word *svadhvará* in 8, 103, 12: *yāḥ suhótā svadhvarāḥ* seems to show that here the interpretation "good *hotṛ*" gives the better meaning. I therefore regard both words as being in their original forms. Of the pair *sváyaśastara*, 'renowned of one's self' (RV)—*súyaśastara* 'having much renown' (SV), it is obvious

that the latter is the better meaning. I believe therefore that *svāyaśastara* in the RV is a variant of *súyaśastara* and means the same as that word, and likewise that the word *svāyaśas* occurring frequently in the RV, is a variant of, and has the same meaning as, *súyaśas*. Similarly, of the pair *sugopā* (having a good protector; well-protected)—*svágopā* (protected by one's self; self-protected), both occurring in the RV, the former meaning seems to be obviously better than the latter; and I therefore think it preferable to interpret *svágopā* in 10, 31, 10 (the only passage where the word occurs): *vyáthir avyathih kṣṇuta svágopā*, as 'well-protected' and to regard it as a variant of the word *sugopā*; while, of the pair *suyúj* ('well-yoked') -*svayúj* ('yoking itself; yoked of its own self') both occurring in the RV, it is equally obvious that the latter meaning suits the context better than the former which is, when compared with it, a weak and colourless epithet. I therefore look upon the word *suyúj* (in the RV passages where it occurs) as a variant of, and having the same meaning as, *svayúj*. Compare the epithet *manoyúj*, which, like *suyúj*, is applied to hymns, horses, and chariots; and compare specially 1, 121, 12: *tvám indra náryo yāñ ávo nṛṇ tishthā vātasya suyújo vāhiṣṭhān* | *yám te kāvya uśánā mandinām dād vṛtraháṇam pāryam tatakṣa vājram* with 1, 51, 10: *tákṣad yát ta uśánā sáhasā sáho vī ródasī majmánā bādhate sávah* | *ā tvā vātasya nṛmaṇo manoyúja ā pūryamāṇam avahann abhí śrāvah* and 5, 31, 10: *vātasya yuktān suyújaś cid áśvān* with 4, 48, 4: *vāhantu tvā manoyújo yuktāso navatir náva vāyo* where the word *suyuj* in the former pair of verses is obviously parallel to the word *manoyuj* in the latter pair thus indicating clearly that *suyuj* is equivalent to *svayuj*. Compare also the verse 3, 58, 3: *suyúgbhir áśvaiḥ suvṛktā ráthena dásrāv imām śṛṇutam* *ślókam* *ádreḥ* with the verse 5, 75, 6: *ā vām narā manoyújó 'svāsaḥ prusitápsavah* | *vāyo vahantu pitáye sahā sumnēbhir áśvinā* and with the verse 1, 119, 4:

yuvāṁ bhujyūṁ bhurāmāṇāṁ vībhir gatāṁ svāyuktibhir nivāhantā pītēbhya ā and note that the epithets *suyúj*, *manoyúj* and *svāyukti* are parallelly applied to the bird-horses of the Aśvins indicating that they express the same idea. The horses (birds) of Vāyu (Vāta) and of the Aśvins yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters think⁷ of setting forth in it, and are hence *manoyújah* as well as *svayújah*.

This is not however the occasion for investigating exhaustively the nature and meaning of all the Vedic compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The foregoing observations will, I believe, have shown the necessity of such an investigation; and I therefore close this digression and return to our subject.

svá has the sense of *priyá* in the derivative *svadhā* also which in the instrumental case means not only 'according to one's own nature or wont' but also 'willingly, with gladness, with pleasure,' *nach eigenem Gefallen, gern, aus eigener Lust* (Grassmann), *Neigung* (Geldner, *Glossar*).

Like *nityá* and *svá*, the word *nijá*, too, means primarily 'own'; and like these two words, it too seems to have the meaning *priyá* in the following passage: AV. 3, 5, 2: *máyi kṣatrám paryamane máyi dhārayatād rayim | ahám rāṣṭrásyābhīvargé nijó bhūyāsam uttamáh* "In me maintain dominion, *paryā* amulet, in me maintain wealth; may I, in the sphere of (my) kingdom, be beloved, supreme".

jūṣṭa like *priyá*, originally means 'pleasing, agreeable, dear' and like *priyá*, has, seemingly, the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devā jūṣṭās tanūḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni sārdham samavadadire |* This passage has already

⁷ According to another conception, these horses yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters express their intention of setting forth in it *in words*; they are hence also called *vacoyújah*. They are thus at the same time *manoyújah* or *vacoyújah* and *svayújah*.

been cited above (see p. 35) and explained as “ The gods put together portions from their own selves, from their own powers ”. Note the parallelism of the word *juṣṭāḥ* with the word *priyāni* that follows.

1, 33, 2 : *úpēd ahám dhanadám ápratitam
juṣṭām ná śyenó vasatím pátāmi |
índram namasyánn upamébhir arkáir
yáḥ stotýbhyo hávyo ásti yáman ||*

“ I fly (for protection), like the hawk to its own nest, to the giver of wealth, the irresistible, adoring with the best chants Indra who in battle is to be invoked by his praisers.” *juṣṭā vasatih* is here equivalent to *svá vasatih* ; compare 1, 25, 4 : *páraḥ hi me vímanyavah pátanti
vásya-iṣṭaye | váyo ná vasatír úpa* ; 9, 71, 6 : *śyenó ná
yónim sádanam . . . eṣati*.

4, 29, 3 : *śraváyéd asya kárnā vājayádhyai
juṣṭām ánu prá díśam mandayádhyai |
udvāvṛṣānó rādhase túviṣmān
káraṇ na índrah sutírthábhayaṁ ca ||*

“ Quicken his ears for hearing ; make him find pleasure in (our) own direction ; may Indra the mighty, showering gifts, make for us good crossings and safety.” The expression ‘make him find pleasure in our own direction,’ means, probably, ‘make him find pleasure with us, in our sacrifice’ ; compare 8, 12, 17 : *yád
vāśakra parāváti samudré údhi mándase | asmākam it suté
raṇā sám indubhiḥ*. The ‘good crossings’ desired are no doubt across evils, *duriṭā*, and enemies, *dviṣah*. Instead of *prá díśam*, I read *pradíśam* : see Oldenberg, *Veda-forschung*, p. 110.

1, 182, 6 : *ávaviddham taugryám aψv àntár
anārambhaṇé támasi práviddham |
cátasro návo játihalasya juṣṭā
úd aśvibhyām iṣitāḥ pārayanti ||*

“ The four own ships of Jāṭhala impelled by the Aśvins, bring over safely the son of Tugra who was

abandoned in the midst of the waters and who was stuck in bottomless darkness." I take *jāṭhalā* here as a proper name: the person referred to is perhaps the same as the *Jāṭhara* mentioned in 1, 112, 17, in a hymn likewise addressed to the *Aśvins*. The four ships that brought over Tugra's son to safety are perhaps the same as the four birds that are said to have carried him in 8, 74, 14: *māṁ caivāra āśāvah śáviṣṭhasya dravitnāvah | suráthāśo abhī práyo vákṣan váyo ná túgryam.*

Likewise, *jūṣṭa* seems to have this meaning of 'own' in the formula *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmi* (*nirvapāmi*, etc.; see *Concordance*); the meaning seems to be "I sprinkle thee that art the own (portion) of such-and-such."

Similarly, the word *vāmā* also, meaning primarily 'dear, pleasing', etc., seems to have the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

10, 140, 3 : *ūrjo naṛāj jātavedah susastibhir
māndasva dhitibhir hitāḥ |
tvé iṣāḥ sāṁ dadhur bhūrivarpasas
citrótayo vāmājātāḥ ||*

"O Jātavedas son of vigour, rejoice thou, beneficent, with the hymns containing fine praises. They put in you manifold nourishments, they whose help is wonderful, who are born of own self". *vāmājātāḥ* here, like *priyājāta* in 8, 71, 2 above, seems to be equivalent to *svajātāḥ*.

T.S. 1, 5, 1, 1 : *devāsurāḥ sāmyattā āsan | té devā
vijayām upayānto 'gnāv vāmām vāsu sām nyadadhata |
idām u no bhaviṣyati | yādi no jesyānti |*

"The gods and asuras prepared to fight. The gods, setting out for the battle, deposited their own wealth with Agni (thinking), 'this will be ours in case they vanquish us'".

Tait. Br. 1, 1, 2, 3 : *yāḥ purā bhadrāḥ sāṁ pāpiyām
syāt | sā pūnarvasvōr agnīm ādadhitā | pūnar evānām
vāmām vāsūpāvartate | bhadrō bhavati |*

“ He who having been formerly prosperous (literally, splendid or glorious) is now worse off, should establish the fires in Punarvasu (*nakṣatra*). (His) own glory (*i.e.*, wealth) will again come back to him and he will become glorious (prosperous).” *vāmanī vasu* here seems clearly to be equivalent to *svakīyam vasu*.

In the case of these words also, *priyá*, *svá*, *júṣṭa* and *vāmá*, I have to repeat the observation made above with regard to *nitya*—namely, that in some passages, either of the meanings, ‘dear’ and ‘own’, is suitable, and that, though in the translations given above, I have chosen in such instances what seemed to me the better of the two, a combination of the two meanings would perhaps better represent the idea which the poet had in his mind when he used these words.

The use of the word *nitya* in the sense of ‘dear’ (*priyā*) is not confined to Vedic literature but is occasionally met with in later literature also. Thus, it is said in the Mahābhārata (1, 169, 14) of Ghaṭotkaca—

anuraktaś ca tān āśit Pāṇḍavān sa Ghaṭotkacah |
teṣāṁ ca dayito nityam ātmanityo babhūva ha ||

“ That Ghaṭotkaca loved the sons of Pāṇḍu and he was always dear to them, as dear as their own self ”. *nitya* in *ātmanitya* signifies, it seems to me, ‘dear’ and the word *ātmanitya* means therefore ‘dear as the *ātmā* or own self’ and not ‘im Selbst haftend, an s Herz gewachsen’ as suggested in the PW (*s.v.*) ; for the word *nitya* has no connection with ‘haften’ or ‘wachsen.’

Similarly it is not unlikely that the word *nitya* at the end of some compounds (like *aranya-nitya*, *dharma-nitya*, *taṇo-nitya*, *satya-nitya*, *adhyātmajñāna-nityatvam* in *Bh. Gītā* 13, 11) has the signification ‘dear’. In *Bh. Gītā* 13, 11 especially (*adhyātmajñānanityatvam | etaj jñānam iti proktam*) the words *etaj jñānam* in the third pāda make it very probable that *nitya* here means ‘dear’.

Likewise there is no doubt that *nitya* means 'dear' in the compound *strinitya* that occurs in Kathāsaritsāgara 45. 183: *nissnehena kim etena sva-priyās tyajatā bahiḥ | itīva nidrā strinityasyaikasyāpy asya nāyayau* || "As if thinking, 'Of what use to me is this (Sūryaprabha) who is without love and has left his wives outside', Sleep did not visit him who was fond of women, though he was alone". Compare in this connection the epithet *stri-laṁpaṭa* that is applied to Sūryaprabha in *ibid.* 47. 101-102.

§ 2

śunām

Amongst the words *nitya*, *svā*, *nijā*, *vāmā*, and *jūṣṭa* that have been mentioned in the preceding article as signifying both (1) own, *svīya*, and (2) dear, pleasing, etc., *priya*, should be included the word *śunā* also.

This word is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst the synonyms of *sukha*, happiness; and this meaning *sukha* or the derived meaning *sukhakara* is repeated by Sāyaṇa in the course of his commentary on all the RV passages where the word occurs. In 3, 30, 22, however, he has in addition explained *śunam* as *śūnam utsāhena pṛacīddham*, thus connecting the word with the verb *śū* or *śvay*, 'to swell.' This derivation is given in the PW by Roth who explains the word as (adv.) glücklich, mit Erfolg, zum Gedeihen; (n.) Erfolg, Gedeihen' and by Grassmann who explains it as '(1) Wachsthum, Gedeihen; (2) Gedeihen, Wohlergehen, Glück, Segen; (3) (adv.) zum Gedeihen, zum Wohlergehen, zum Segen.' Geldner, on the other hand, has suggested (*RV. Glossar*) that the word is related to *śivam*, and has explained it as 'Heil, zum Heil (*svastayc*).' And this suggestion seems to have found favour with Hillebrandt who has translated *śunam* as 'zum Heil' in

Lieder des Rgveda, p. 106. Later, however, Geldner himself has translated (*RV. Uebersetzung*) the word in this passage by 'gedeihlich, zum Gedeihen' and in 3, 30, 22 by 'mit Erfolg' and seems therefore to have abandoned his suggestion and gone back to the meanings proposed by Roth.

None of the above-mentioned meanings, however, suits the context in a passage of the Maitr. Saṁ. (1, 4, 11; p. 60, l. 3f.) which reads as follows :

na vai tad vidma yadi brāhmaṇā vā smo 'brāhmaṇā vā | yadi tasya va ṛṣeh smo 'nyasya vā yasya brūmahe | yasya ha tv eva brūcāṇo yajate tam tad iṣṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati | tat pravare pravaryamāṇe brūyāt | devāḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje | yo 'smi sa san karomi | śunām ma iṣṭam śunām sāntam śunām kṛtam bhūyāt | iti tad ya eva kaś ca sa san yajate tam tad iṣṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati ||

The mantra *devāḥ pitaraḥ* . . . occurring in this passage is found in the Ait. Br., Tait. Br., and Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā also, but in a slightly different form, namely, as *devāḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje yasyāsmi na tam antar emi svām ma iṣṭam svām dattam svām pūrtam svām śrāntam svām hutam* in Tait. Br. 3, 7, 5, 4 and Āp. Śr. Sūtra 4, 9, 6 and as *devāḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vah prabrahvīmi tasya me vitta svām ma iṣṭam astu śunām sāntam svām kṛtam* in KS. 4, 14. The word *śunām* in the MS reading of the mantra is thus parallel to the word *svām* in the TB reading of it, and is obviously equivalent to it. The above passage from the MS therefore means: "We do not know whether we are Brāhmaṇas or not Brāhmaṇas, whether we are (the descendants) of the ṛṣi whom we name or of another. But (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to (the descendant of) him who is named and to no other. Therefore when the lineage (*pravara*) is being proclaimed (?), he should recite: 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers,

O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be (that is, whosesoever descendant I may be), that sacrifice ; it is I, whoever I may be, that perform. Let (this) sacrifice of mine be (my) own, (this) work (my) own, (this) act (my) own.' In this way, whoever he be who sacrifices, (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to him and to no other."

Similarly, it is equally obvious that *śunam*=*svam* (with which it is parallelly used) in the KS reading of the mantra: *devāḥ pitarāḥ pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vāḥ prabrahīmi tasya me vitta svāmī ma iṣṭam astu śunām śāntām svām kṛtam* "O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be, that sacrifice ; this I declare unto you ; bear witness to this on my behalf. Let (this) sacrifice be (my) own, (this) performance (my) own, (this) work (my) own."

On the other hand, this meaning *svam*, 'own' is unsuited to the word *śunām* in the passages of the RV and other texts where the word occurs. And I therefore infer, from the analogy of the words *priyā*, *vāmā* and *jūṣṭā* or *nītyā*, *svā* and *nījā*, that mean both 'dear' and 'own,' that *śunā*, too, has these two meanings, and that it has, in the passages referred to, the meaning *priya*, 'dear, pleasing, agreeable.' This meaning *priya*, as I shall now show, suits the context well and yields good sense in these passages.

Śāṅkh. GS. 2, 10, 6 : *agnīḥ śraddhām ca medhām ca
'viniḥ pātām smṛtiṁ ca me |
iḥito jātavedā ayan
śunām naḥ samprayacchatu ||*

" May Agni bestow faith and intelligence, not falling off (unforgetfulness?) and memory on me. May this Agni Jātavedas, praised (by us) bestow pleasing things on us." Compare the similar use of *priya* and *vāma* in TS. 4, 7, 3, 1 : *priyām ca me 'nukāmāś ca me . . . (yajñēna kalpantām)* ; RV. 4, 30, 24 : *vāmām vāmām ta ādure devō dadātv aryamā | vāmām pūṣā vāmām*

bhāgo vāmām devāḥ kárūlatī; 10, 56, 2: *vāmām asmā-bhyām dhātu śárma túbhyam*.

RV. Khila 10, 128, 4: *śunam aham hiraṇyasya
pitur nāmeva jagrabha |
tena mām sūryatvacam
akaram pūruṣu priyam ||*

“I have invoked the dear name of *hiraṇya* (gold) that is as dear as that of the father. I have therewith made myself sun-skinned (*i.e.*, bright as the sun to look at) and pleasing to men.” Compare 7, 56, 10: *priyā vo nāma huve turāṇām*; 10, 84, 5: *priyām te nāma sahure gṛṇīmasi* where the epithet *priya* is applied to *nāman*. Compare also, with regard to the invoking of the father, 2, 10, 1: *johūtro agnīḥ prathamāḥ pītēva*; 8, 21, 14: *ād īt pītēva hūyase*; 6, 52, 6: *agnīḥ suśāṁsaḥ suhāvah pītēva*; 1, 104, 9: *pītēva naḥ śṛṇuhi hūyāmānaḥ*; 10, 39, 1: *pītūr nā nāma suhāvam havāmahe*, etc.

10, 160, 5: *asvāyānto gavyānto vājāyanto
hāvāmahe tvōpagantavā u |
ābhūṣantas te sumataū nāvāyām
vayām indra tvā śunām huvema ||*

“Desiring horses, cows, and riches, we call on thee to come here. Desiring to be in thy new (*i.e.*, latest) favour, O Indra, we invoke thee that art dear.” Compare the verses 8, 98, 4: *éndra no gadhi priyāḥ* and 1, 142, 4: *índram citrām ihā priyām* where the epithet *priya* is applied to Indra.

3, 30, 22: *śunām huvema maghāvānam índram
asmīn bhāre nṛtamām vājasātau |
śṛṇvāntam ugrām ûtāye samātsu
ghnāntam vṛtrāṇi samjītam dhānānām ||*

“We invoke in this battle, in the winning of booty, dear Indra, liberal, most valiant, fierce, who hears (our cry) for protection, kills enemies in fights, and is the winner of wealth.”

6, 16, 4: *tvām īle ádha dvitā
bharatō vājíbhiḥ ūnām |
ījé yajñēsu yajñīyam ||*

“ Bharata again, also, with the sacrificers has praised thee (sc. Agni) that art dear; he has offered worship to thee that art worthy of worship in sacrifices.” Compare 1, 128, 8: *agnīm hótaram īlate vásudhitim̄ priyám̄ cētiṣṭham*; 1, 128, 7: *agnír yajñēsu jényo ná viśpátiḥ priyó yajñēsu viśpátiḥ* and the other passages referred to on p. 3 above where Agni is called *priya*, *puruṣpriya*, *preṣṭha*, etc.,

10, 126, 7: *śunām asmábhyam ūtāye
váruṇo mitrō aryamā |
śárma yacchantu saprātha
ādityāśo yád imāhe áti dvīṣah ||*

“ May the Ādityas Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryamā grant us for our protection (their) dear wide-extended shelter which we pray for (and carry us) across enemies.” Compare 10, 126, 4: *yuṣmākām̄ śármanī priyé syāma*; 7, 95, 5: *táva śárman priyátame dádhānā úpa stheyāma śarāṇām̄ ná vṛkṣām* in which the epithet *priya* is applied to *śárman*.

1, 117, 18: *śunām andhāya bháram ahvayat sā
vṛkīr aśvinā vṛṣaṇā náréti |
jārāḥ kanīna iva cakṣadānā
rjrāśvah̄ śatām̄ ékaṁ ca meṣān ||*

“ ‘(May) that which is pleasing (i.e., favourable) (happen) to the blind man, O ye bulls, valiant Aśvins,’ cried the she-wolf, ‘like a youthful lover has Rjrāśva cut up a hundred and one goats.’ ”

Maitr. Sam., 2, 7, 12 :

*śunām naro lān̄ galenānaḍudbhīr
bhagah̄ phālaiḥ sīrapatir marudbhīḥ |
parjanyo bījam̄ īrayāno dhīnotu
śunāsīrā kṛṇutām̄ dhānyām̄ naḥ ||*

“ May the men (give) pleasure with the plough and oxen ; may Bhaga with the ploughshares and the lord of the plough with the Maruts (give) pleasure. May Parjanya, impelling the seed (to sprout and grow) delight us ; may Śuna and Sira confer grain on us.” One has to supply the word *kṛṇotu*, *dadātu* or similar word after *śunam* in the first half-verse. Note the parallelism of *dhinotu* in the second half-verse with *śunam* (*kṛṇotu* or *dadātu*) in the second.

Kauśika-sūtra, 46, 54: *śunām vada dakṣinataḥ*
śunam uttarato vada |
śunām purastān no vada
śunām paścāt kāpiñjala ||

“ Say what is pleasing to the right ; say what is pleasing to the north ; say what is pleasing in front ; say, O partridge, what is pleasing behind.” That is to say, whether you cry to our right or to our left, in front of us or behind us, O partridge, may such cry portend and bring to us what is pleasing or favourable.

RV. 4, 57, 8 : *śunām nah phālā vī kṛṣantu bhūmīm*
śunām kīnāśā abhī yantu vāhaīḥ |
śunām parjānyo mādhunā pāyobhiḥ
śūnāśirā śunām asmāś! *dhattam* ||

“ May our ploughshares plough the land pleasingly ; may the ploughers proceed pleasingly with the draught-animals. May Parjanya with waters and honey do us favour ; may Śuna and Sira confer pleasing things (favours) on us.” The word *śunam* in the first half-verse is used adverbially and denotes ‘ pleasingly ; in a pleasing manner ; well,’ while in the second half-verse, it is a substantive as in the above passages. In the third pāda one has to supply a word like *kṛṇotu* or *dadhātu* on the analogy of the fourth pāda. Compare also 4, 2, 8 : *priyām vā tvā kṛṇāvate havīṣmān* and the phrase *rāṇam dhāḥ* and *rāṇam kṛdhi* in 8, 96, 16 : *vibhūmādhyo bhūrvanebhyo rāṇam dhāḥ* and 10, 112, 10 : *rāṇam kṛdhi rāṇakṛt satyaśuṣma*.

4, 57, 4: *śunám vāhāḥ śunám nárah
śunám kṛṣatu lángalam |
śunám varatrā badhyantām
śunám áṣṭrām úd iṅgaya ||*

“Pleasingly (i.e., well) may the draught-animals, the men, (and) the plough plough; may the straps be tied well; well may the goad be applied (i.e., may the ploughing of the draught-animals, men and the plough, the tying of the straps, and the application of the goad, all bring pleasing results to us).”

10, 102, 8: *śunám áṣṭrāv y àcarat kapardi
varatrāyām dārvā náhyamānah |
urṇuṇāni kṛṇván baháve jánāya
gāḥ pāspaśānás táviśir adhatta ||*

“Being goaded, he (i.e., the bull), who was wearing cowries and who was hitched in the strap (i.e., harness) with the wood, moved pleasingly (i.e., well). Performing valiant deeds before many people, he put on mettle when he saw the bulls.”

The hymn to which this verse belongs has been much discussed by the exegetists and been interpreted in many ways; for literature connected with it, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 318. I agree with him and Geldner (*Ved. Studien* 2) in their opinion that it deals with the story of a Brāhmaṇa couple and a chariot-race.

The subject of *acarāt* in pāda a above is the bull, *vṛṣabha*, that is mentioned in the previous verse as running—*árañhata pádyābhīḥ kakúdmān*. And hence I interpret *kapardi* as ‘wearing cowries’ instead of as ‘wearing a braid, *zottig*’ (Roth, Geldner, Oldenberg, etc.) as this latter epithet is unintelligible to me in connection with a bull. The custom, on the other hand, of ornamenting bulls and oxen with strings of cowries fastened round the neck is fairly wide-spread in India, and I conceive that this must have been the case with

Mudgala's bull also. *dāru* in the second pāda refers, of course, to the *drughaṇa* or block of wood mentioned in the next verse.

It has been suggested by Oldenberg (*l.c.*), perhaps with a view to get over the difficulty caused by the word *kapardí* (which he interprets as 'wearing a braid, *zottig*'), that the subject of *acarat* is not the bull but Mudgala. This does not seem to be correct; for I believe with Geldner that Mudgala was too old to take part in a chariot-race and that the chariot was in fact ridden by Indrasenā with Keśinī as charioteer; see the article on *Indrasenā* that follows below.

4, 3, 11 : *ṛtēnādriṁ vy ḥasan bhidāntah*
sám ángiraso navanta góbhīḥ |
śunám nárah pári ṣadann uṣāsam
ācīḥ svār abhavaj jäté agnau ||

"Properly did they burst open the rock, shattering it. The Aṅgirases lowed with the cows. Pleasingly (*i.e.*, with pleasing results; well) did the men worship the Dawn; the sun made himself manifest when Agni was born." The explanation of *pariṣadan* as 'umlagerten' by Roth, Grassmann and Geldner (*RV. Uebersetzung*) seems to me to be hardly satisfactory; and I prefer to follow Bhaṭṭabhāskara who has paraphrased *pariṣadyam* in TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 as *parita upāsyam* (*cf.* also Mahīdhara on VS. 5, 32) and regard *pariṣadan* here as equivalent to *paryupāśāmcakrīc*. Compare 7, 76, 6: *práti tvā stómair īlate vásishṭhā uṣarbúdhaḥ subhage tuṣṭuráṁsaḥ* | *gávāṁ netri vājapatnī na ucchóṣaḥ sujāte prathamā jarasva*; 7, 78, 2: *práti śim agnír jarate sámidhāḥ* *práti vīprāśo matíbhīr gr̥hāntaḥ* | *uṣā yāti jyotiṣā bādhamānā vīśvā támāṁsi duritāpa devī*; 7, 80, 1: *práti stómebhīr uṣásam vásishṭhā gīrbhīr vīprāsaḥ prathamā abudhran*. The expression 'the men worshipped the Dawn' indicates that the Dawn showed herself at that time when Agni was born, that is, was kindled

before daybreak. The kindling of Agni, the coming of the Dawn and the rising of the sun are referred to in other verses also of the RV, for instance in 7, 72, 4 : *ví céd ucchánty aśvinā uśásah prá vām bráhmāṇi kārāvo bharante | ūrdhvām bhānūm savitā devó aśred bṛhád agnáyah samídha jarante* ; 7, 77, 1-3 : *úpo ruruce yuvatir ná yóṣā vísvam jīvám prasuvánī caráyai | ábhūd agníh samídhe mānuśāṇām ákar jyótir bádhamānā támānsi | vísvam pratíci saprāthā úl asthād rúśad cāso bibratí sukrám aśvait | híranyavárvṇā sudyśikorasmīdrg gávām mātā netry áhnām aroci | devānām cákṣuh subhágā vāhantī svetām náyantī sudyśikam áśvam | uśā adarśi* ; 7, 78, 2-3 : *práti śim agnír jarate sámiddhaḥ práti víprāśo matíbhir gr̄ṇántaḥ | uśā yāti jyótisā bádhamānā vísvā támānsi duritāpa deví | etā u tyāḥ práty adrśan purástāj jyótir yácchantīr uśāso vibhātiḥ | ájījanan súryam yajñām agním apācīnaṁ támō agād ájuṣṭam* : 1, 113, 9 ; úśo yád agním samídhe cakártha ví yád ávāś cákṣasā súryasya. But while these passages represent Agni as showing himself (as being born) after the Dawn, the verse 4, 3, 11 makes out that Agni was born first and the Dawn afterwards ; compare also 7, 9, 3 : *citrá-bhānur uśásām bhāty ágre*.

AV. 3, 15, 4 : *imām agne śarāṇīm mīmṛṣo no yám ádhvānam ágāma dūrám | śunām no astu prapāṇó vikrayás ca pratipāṇáḥ phalīnām mā kṛṇotu | idām havyām saṁvidānaú juṣethām śunām no astu caritám útthitām ca ||*

‘Sprinkle, O Agni, this our path, this road which we have followed from a distance. May our bargain and sale be pleasing (*i.e.*, turn out favourable) ; may the barter make me abounding in fruit (*i.e.*, may the barter be fruitful to me). Do ye two enjoy this oblation in concord. May our transaction and trading be pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable).’ *śarāṇi*=road, path, and not *himṣā*.

offence or *Verdruss*; see Apte. Accordingly I take the verb *mṛṣ* in the sense of 'to sprinkle,' a meaning which the author of the *Dhātupāṭha* assigns to it, but of its use in which no example has been up to now met with. The expression 'sprinkle this our path' means probably 'make our path smooth and easy to travel'; compare the expressions *tánumapāt pāthā r̥tāsyā yānān mādhwā samañjān svadayañ sujihvā* in RV. 10, 110, 2; *ā no dadhikrāḥ pāthyām anaktu* in 7, 44, 5; and *madhvādya devo devebhyo devayānān pātho anaktu* in TB. 3, 6, 2, 1.

RV. 7, 70, 1 : *ā viśvavārā śvinā gatām nah
prā tāt sthānam avāci vām pṛthivyām |
āśvo nā vājī śunāpṛṣṭho asthād
ā yāt sedāthur dhruvāse nā yónim ||*

"Come, O ye Aśvins that have all desirable things; this your place in the earth has been praised. Like a powerful horse, it stood up with pleasing (*i.e.* pleasure-giving; comfortable) back on which you sat as if settling permanently in a house." *śunāpṛṣṭhah=priyapṛṣṭhah* or *vītāpṛṣṭhah* which is used many times in the RV as an epithet of *āśva*, *atyā*, *hari*, etc.; see Grassmann *s.v.* This word does not signify 'schlichten Rücken habend' (Roth in P.W.) or, 'dessen Rücken eben ist' (Grassmann) but means 'having a pleasing (*i.e.*, comfortable) back'; compare the word *suṣadāḥ* 'easy or comfortable to sit upon' that is used as an epithet of *arvan* in VS. 11, 44: *āśūr bhava vājy arvan pṛthūr bhava suṣadas tvām*. Compare also *śagmāśo āśvāḥ* in RV. 7, 97, 6: *tām śagmāśo aruṣāśo āśvā bṛhaspātiṁ sahavāhō vahanti* and *śagmāhāri* in 8, 2, 27: *éhā hāri brahmayūjā śagmā vākṣataḥ sākhāyam*.

2, 18, 6 : *āśityā nāvatyā yāhy arvān
ā śatēna hāribhir uhyāmānah |
ayām hī te śunāhotrcṣu sóma
īndra tvāyā pāriṣikto mādāya ||*

"Come here drawn by eighty, by ninety, by hundred horses. This Soma-juice, O Indra, has been poured out

for thy pleasure, by (the priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices."

2, 41, 14 : *tīvrō vo mādhumāñ ayām
śunāhotreṣu matsarāḥ |
etām pibata kāmyam ||*

"For you is this exhilarating, sweet, and sharp (Soma-juice) with the (priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices ; drink this beloved (drink)."

2, 41, 17 : *tvē vīśvā sarasvatī
śritāyūṁsi devyām |
śunāhotreṣu matsva
prajām devi dididdhi naḥ ||*

'On thee, O goddess Sarasvatī, depends all longevity. Delight thou with (the priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices ; confer children on us.'

The exegetists have explained the word *śunāhotreṣu* in all the above three verses¹ as a proper noun (Sāyaṇa does so in 2, 41, 14 and 2, 41, 17 only ; in 2, 18, 6 he interprets *śunahotreṣu* as *sukhena hūyate somo yebhir iti śunahotrāḥ pātravīśeṣāḥ*)—an explanation for which there does not seem to be any necessity. For, just as the word *śunapṛṣṭha* is equivalent to *vītarapṛṣṭha*, in the same way does the word *śunahotra* (*śunām hotre yasya*) seem to be equivalent to the word *vīthihotra* (*vītih hotre yasya*) 'he who has pleasure in sacrifices,' i.e., 'he who takes delight in offering sacrifices to the gods,' which occurs in 1, 84, 18 : *kō mūṁsate vīthihotrāḥ sudevāḥ* and 2, 38, 1 : *āthābhajad vīthihotrām svastau* with the signification of 'priest'. This meaning, 'priest' suits *śunahotra* also in the above verses, and there is thus no necessity to regard it as a proper name.

The word *śuna* occurs further in the compound *duchchunā* which means 'unpleasantness,' *vipriya* or *duḥkha*, and in the denominative verb *duchchunāy*, formed

¹ The word *śunahotra* does not occur elsewhere.

from the above, meaning 'to cause unpleasantness or discomfort.'

The word *śuna* that forms part of *abhiśunatara* in T. Br. 1, 7, 1, 6 : *tau samalabhetām* | *so 'smād abhiśunatara* 'bhavat means, as explained by the commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara, *balena abhivyddhah* and is clearly derived from the root *śū*, *śvay* 'to swell.' It is thus quite a different word and unconnected with *śuna* meaning 'dear; own.'

śuna thus signifies originally, as I hope is clear from the foregoing, *priya*, 'dear, agreeable,' etc., and secondarily, 'own'. The meaning *sukha* assigned to it by the author of the *Vighñantu* seems to be but an approximate equivalent of the original *priya*, and, like all approximations, not quite accurate.

§ 3

The word *indraserñā* occurs in one place only, in stanza 3 (*út sma vāto vahati vāso asyā ábhirathām* *yád* *ájayat sahásram* | *rathīr abhūn mudgalānī gáviṣṭau bhare* *kṛtām* *vy aced indraserñā*) of RV. 10, 102. This hymn is obscure and the most diverse views have been held about it. According to Yāska (*Virukta* 9. 23-24,) the hymn refers to a battle or race, while according to Śadguruśiṣya (p. 158 of the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, Macdonell's edition), it refers to the pursuit by Mudgala of some thieves who had stolen his oxen.

Bergaigne (II. 280 ff.), however, thought that the hymn depicts liturgical symbolism, Henry, (JA. 1895, II, 510 ff.), that it describes the phenomena that occur on

earth and in the sky during a thunder-storm, and Bloomfield (ZDMG. 48, 541 ff.), that it refers to heavenly, that is, meteorological events. This is the opinion of Profs. Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, II, 167) and Keith (JRAS. 1911, 1005, n. 1) also. Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2. 1 ff.), Pischel (*ibid.*, 1. 124), von Bradke (ZDMG. 46, 445 ff.), Schröder (*Mysterium und Mimus* 347), and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, 318), on the other hand, opined that it is an ākhyāna or itihāsa hymn, and that it describes a chariot-race in which Mudgala's wife took prominent part. For literature connected therewith see Oldenberg, l.c.

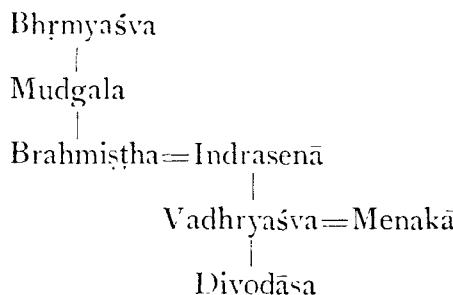
According to the last-named scholars (Geldner and others), *indrasenā* is a proper name denoting the wife of a human being, of Mudgala, and is the equivalent of the word *Mudgalānī* that is used in stanzas 2 and 6 of the hymn. According to the first-named scholars (Bergaigne and others), on the other hand, *indrasenā* denotes the wife of Indra. This 'wife' is, in the opinion of Bergaigne, the prayer addressed to Indra ('*la prière à Indra dans son union avec Soma*'), and in the opinion of Bloomfield,¹ Macdonell and Keith,² his bolt (vajra).³

In JRAS. 1910. 1328 ff., the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter attempted to throw some light on this hymn with the help of certain details contained in the Purāṇas about Mudgala, who is, according to the *Nirukta* (9. 2. 3. 3.) and the *Sarvānukramayī*, the son of Bhr̥myaśva and the author of this hymn. With the help of these details, Mr. Pargiter constructed the following genealogy:

¹ *mudgala* (==*mudgara*, hammer) denotes, according to Henry (p. 518 l. c.), Indra, and according to Bloomfield, Indra's vajra.

² This is the opinion of Sāyaṇa also.

³ Referring to Vaitana-sutra 15. 3; Gop. Br. 2. 2. 9; Apa. ŚS. 11. 3. 14; and TA. 3. 9. 1; *sēnēndrasya dhōnā Bṛhaspātch . . .*, Bloomfield has shown at length, in pp. 549-552 l. c., that Sena is the wife of Indra and that the *Indrasenā* of stanza 3 is the same as this *Senā*.



And from this genealogy, he arrived at the following conclusions respecting the persons named in the hymn:

1. Mudgala was a *rājā* of the North Pañcāla dynasty and yet might also be regarded as a *r̄ṣi*.
2. Mudgalānī, whose name is not mentioned, was obviously Mudgala's wife, as is generally agreed.
3. Indrasenā was the daughter-in-law of Mudgala, being the wife or rather the queen of his son Brahmiṣṭha.
4. Vadhri, in stanza 12, seems to refer to Indrasenā's son and Mudgala's grandson Vadhryaśva.
5. Keśī, mentioned in stanza 6, was the *sārathi* or charioteer who drove Mudgalānī in the race.

Mr. Pargiter was therefore disposed to interpret the hymn in accordance with the above conclusions.

In the note referred to above, Mr. Pargiter collected the information given by the *Purāṇas* about Mudgala only and did not bring out anything new about Indrasenā, although Geldner had long ago pointed out that her name occurred in the *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta ed., 3. 113. 22; 4. 21. 11) where she is described as *Nārāyaṇī* and as the wife of Mudgala. In the Kumbakonam edition of the *Mahābhārata*, these stanzas are found on p. 186 of the *Vanaparvan* (Ch. 114; 23, 24) and p. 47 of the *Virāṭaparvan* (Ch. 24; 19-22). In both these places, this text has *Nālāyāṇī* instead of its doublet form *Nārāyaṇī*; and it thus indicates that Indrasenā the wife of Mudgala was the daughter of Nala. She must therefore be

identified with the Indrasenā who, we read in the *Nalopākhyāna*,⁴ was born to Nala of Damayanti.

This inference is confirmed by the following story found in chapters 212 and 213 of the Ādiparvan (p. 359 ff.), where it is related by Vyāsa to King Drupada with the object of overcoming his repugnance to the marriage of his daughter with five men (the five Pāṇḍava brothers):

“Krṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada, was, in her former birth, known as Indrasenā. She was then the daughter of Nala and was married to the ṛṣi Maudgalya⁵ who was old and mere skin and bones, who was reeking with a smell which was other than pleasant, whose hair had become white and the skin furrowed with wrinkles, who was afflicted with leprosy, whose skin and nails were peeling off, who was repulsive to look at and who was extremely irritable, harsh, jealous and fanciful.⁶ The blameless Indrasenā used to serve her husband faithfully and to eat what was left of his food (*uc-chiṣṭa*) after he had eaten. One day, the thumb of Maudgalya came off when he was eating his food; and Indrasenā, when she sat down to the remnants, unconcernedly threw it away and consumed the food left without any feeling of disgust. Her husband was much pleased at this act of wifely devotion, said that he would grant her a boon, and asked

⁴ *Damayantyā saha Nalo vijahārā 'maropamah ||*
janayāmāsa ca tato Damayantyām mahāmanāḥ ||
Indrasenām sutām cāpi Indrasenām ca kanyakām ||

Mahābhārata, 3. 54. 48-9.

⁵ The husband of Indrasenā is represented in Mahābhārata, 4. 24. 21 as being aged more than one thousand years.

⁶ *esā Nālāyanī pūrvam Maudgalyam sthaviram patim ||*
ārādhayāmāsa tadā kuṣthinām tam aninditā ||
trāg-asti-bhūtam kaṭukām tōlam iṛṣyam sukoṇam ||
sugandhetara-gandhādhyām vali-palita-mūrdhajam ||
sthaviram vikṛtākāram sīryamāna-nakha-tracam ||
ucchistam upabhuñjānā paryuṣaste mahā-munim ||

Ādiparvan, Ch. 212; 4-6.

her often what she desired. Indrasenā, being thus frequently urged, begged of the ṛṣi that he should sport with her, first dividing himself into five persons, and later becoming one again.

“The ṛṣi, owing to the power of his austerities and his yoga, accordingly sported with Indrasenā for many years, now making himself into five men and again as one man, in Indraloka, Meru and other places. Indrasenā thus came to the forefront of pativrataḥ in the same way as Arundhatī and Sītā; and she attained a greater distinction in this respect *than even her mother Damayantī*.⁷

“While the ṛṣi Maudgalya thus played with Indrasenā, many years elapsed and he became weary of sensual pleasures. He therefore resolved to abandon this luxurious course of life and to practise austerities in a retired place. On this resolve being communicated to Indrasenā, she prostrated herself before the ṛṣi and earnestly besought him not to leave her as her craving for sensual pleasures was still unsatisfied. The ṛṣi grew wroth at this bold and impudent request and uttered a curse that she should be born as the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañcālas, and have five husbands.

“Grieving at this curse, and with her craving for sensual pleasure unsatisfied, Indrasenā, too, repaired to a forest and practised austerities in order to please Śiva. That god, being pleased with the austerities, showed himself to Indrasenā and conferred a boon on her that she would, in her next birth, have five husbands.”

It should be noted that the wording of the text, *Damayantyāś ca mātus sā viśeṣam yayau*, informs us in an unmistakable way that Indrasenā,⁸ who is described as

⁷ *eka-patnī tathā bhūtvā sadaivāgre yaśasvini* ||

Arundhatīva Sīteva babhūvāti-pativrataḥ |

Damayantyāś ca mātus sā viśeṣam adhikam yayau ||

Ibid.; Ch. 212; 25.

⁸ The text, I may here note, calls Maudgalya's wife Mahendra-senā in one place (1. 212. 17).

Nālāyanī and as the wife of Maudgalya, was the daughter of Damayantī.

This story is very interesting and confirms the correctness of Geldner's interpretation of RV. X. 102 in several respects :

1. Thus, it is clear from the above story that Indrasenā, mentioned in stanza 2, is the same as the Mudgalānī mentioned in stanzas 2 and 6, and that she is the wife of the Mudgala mentioned in stanzas 5 and 9 and not his daughter-in-law as Mr. Pargiter would believe.

Mr. Pargiter seems to have been misled here by the use of the word Mudgala instead of the more correct form Maudgalya. Such laxity however in the matter of adding patronymic suffixes is fairly common not only in the epics and Purāṇas, but in the RV also. See for example, ZDMG. 42, p. 204 ff. where Oldenberg has shown that the word *vasiṣṭha* is used in the RV to denote not only the original Vasiṣṭha but his descendant as well.

As regards the word Mudgala itself, we have already seen above that the Mahābhārata in one place (III. 114. 24) uses that word to denote Mudgala's son (who, in 1. 212, 213 is called Maudgalya). Similarly, it relates in the Vanaparvan (Ch. 261) the story of a Mudgala (whether the same as Indrasenā's husband or a different person, there is no means of saying) who was offered, because of his zeal in giving gifts, the privilege of going to heaven in his mortal body (*sāśārīra-svarga*) but refused to avail himself of it. In this story, the hero is called Mudgala (in III. 260. 38 ; 261. 3, 11, 14, etc.) and Maudgalya (in III. 261. 6, 14, 25, 33 etc.) indifferently. And in the *Bhāgavata*, X. 21. 34, the word Mudgala is used of the father of Divodāsa, i.e., to denote Vadhryaśva, the grandson of the original Mudgala.

There is thus no doubt that the Mudgala mentioned in stanzas 5 and 9 of RV. X. 102 is identical with the

Mudgala of *Mahābhārata* III. 114. 24, with the Maudgalya of *ibid.* I. 212-213 and with the *Brahmiṣṭha*⁹ (son of Mudgala) of Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table.

2. The story also supports the opinion of Geldner (p. 1) and Oldenberg (p. 318, n. 2) that Mudgala was a *Brāhmaṇa* against those of Henry and Pargiter who believed that he was a king.

3. The story gives, as can be seen above, a graphic description of the decrepitude of Indrasenā's husband Mudgala, a point about which Bloomfield and Oldenberg were inlined to be sceptical.

Mudgala's decrepitude is thus well-attested and may be regarded as a certain fact. It is not however quite so certain that it was this decrepitude which, as Geldner would believe, prevented him from riding the chariot himself in the race and led him to substitute his wife Indrasenā in his stead. A passage¹⁰ of the *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā* (X. 5; Vol. 1, p. 130) which relates the story of a chariot-race between *Vāmadeva* and *Kusidāyī* shows that it was not unusual for women to take part in such

⁹ I am, however, very doubtful that Mudgala's son was named *Brahmiṣṭha*. From the footnotes given by Mr. Pargiter on p. 1329 loc. cit., it can be seen that, out of eight *Purāṇas* which he has used to construct the genealogy in question, only two contain the word *brahmistha*. In both these places, it is preferable to look upon this term as a common noun (=the best of *Brāhmaṇas*; a *brahmarsi*) rather than as a proper name. The corrupt text of the *Harivāṁśa*, too, which uses the word *brahmaṛṣi* in this context favours this view.

Ludwig has, in his *Rgveda-übersetzung* (III, 171), set down a table where he has shown *Vadhryaśva*, the father of *Divodasa*, as the son of *Devavan*, - a view accepted by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, 1, 376). Though there is not much evidence in favour of this view, too, I have here provisionally adopted it for lack of a better-attested genealogy.

¹⁰ *Vāmadevaś ca vai Kusidāyī cātmanor ājīn ayātām | tasya Kusidāyī pūrvasyātīdrutasya kūbaraṇī ny amināt | sā dvitiyam upa paryā vartata | iṣāmī vā . . . aksaṇī vā chetsyāmīti | sa Vāmadeva ukhyam agnum atibhah . . . ||*

races. Indrasenā too, who was the daughter of Nala, a noted charioteer,¹¹ must naturally have known more of chariots and their driving and of races than her husband the Brāhmaṇa ṛṣi. These facts offer, in my opinion, sufficient explanation as to why Mudgala did not himself ride in the race but sent his wife Indrasenā instead as rider.

4. In interpreting stanza 6 of the hymn, Geldner has followed Sāyaṇa in thinking that Mudgalānī (i.e., the wife of Mudgala; Indrasenā) was both the rider (*rathīḥ*) as well as the charioteer (*sārathīḥ*) in the race. He has therefore accepted (p. 8) Sāyaṇa's dictum¹² that the word *keśī* in that stanza stands really for the feminine form *keśinī* and means 'having beautiful hair'. Further on, however, Sāyaṇa has given another explanation¹³ according to which Keśinī was the charioteer. I am disposed to think that this last explanation is correct and that this Keśinī is, perhaps, identical with the Keśinī who, in the *Nalopākhyāna*,¹⁴ was employed by Damayantī to observe and report to her the actions of Bāhuṇa (i.e., Nala), and to carry messages to him.

5. Regarding Geldner's interpretation of stanza 11 of the hymn, an interpretation which is not acceptable to Bloomfield, Oldenberg and Pargiter, the story related above shows that the sense which Geldner attached to the first half of that stanza is quite correct, so correct as to be surprising when one bears in mind that Geldner did not know of the above Mahābhārata story. He has there rightly interpreted the sentence *parivýkterā pativídyam ānaṭ* and has remarked that after winning the race and thus pleasing the old Mudgala, the net advantage gained by Indrasenā was not much to speak of, and that, on the whole, she was rather disappointed

¹¹ Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, 64, 2 ; 69, 28-31 ; 70, 18, etc.

¹² keśīti sārathyabhiprāyena pullingata |

¹³ athavā keśī keśinī sārathir asya |

¹⁴ Mahābhārata, III. Ch. 72, 73.

than otherwise. The correctness of this opinion is fully borne out by the above story which relates, as we have already seen, how Maudgalya was pleased with his wife, offered her a boon, sported with her as she desired, but left her before her desires were satisfied and thus disappointed her.

6. In the light of what has been said above, Mr. Pargiter's opinion that *vādhri* in stanza 12 refers to Indrasenā's son seems to be untenable.

The above story is not found in Ganapat Krishnaji's edition of the *Mahābhārata*, with Nilakantha's commentary, published in Bombay, but seems to occur in some editions of Northern India. It is followed in the Kumbakonam edition (Ch. 214) by another story,¹⁵ known as *Pañceudropākhyāna* ('Story of the five Indras') which is found in the Bombay edition (Ch. 197) and is as follows :

The gods (*devāḥ*) were once engaged in celebrating a sacrifice of many years' duration in the Naimiśa forest. Once they saw a golden lotus floating in the Gaṅgā river ; and Indra, being curious about its origin, went up the bank of the river until he came to a place where a most beautiful and radiant woman was standing in the water weeping and letting fall tears into the river which at once turned into golden lotuses. Seeing this, Indra was struck with wonder and asked her who she was and why she was weeping. She replied, " If you follow unfortunate me, you will know who I am and why I am weeping." She then led the way, Indra following, to the summit of a mountain where Indra saw a handsome youth playing a game with a radiantly beautiful woman. As this youth took no notice of Indra but continued to play, Indra became angry and said, " Know, O man, that I am Indra and that this universe is mine and obeys my will." The youth who was no other than Śiva, then made Indra enter into a cave where he saw four others like himself

¹⁵ This story is, in parts, reminiscent of that related in Keno-paniśat (khanda III).

who had all formerly been Indras. Śiva then said, "You will all five be born human beings and do work on behalf of the gods; this woman too will be born one and will be your wife." The former Indras then prayed that in that case their fathers should be gods while Indra entreated that a son born to him may be allowed to take his place, and work with the other four, on the earth.

This story, too, was related by Vyāsa to Drupada; and Vyāsa, after relating the story, added that the five sons of Pāṇḍu were the five Indras and his daughter Kṛṣṇā, that woman.¹⁶

This story corroborates, though in a very unexpected way, the opinion expressed by Bergaigne and Bloomfield that the word *indrasenā* denotes the wife of Indra, while the *Indrasenopākhyāna* that precedes it in the Kumbakonam edition shows that the opinion of Geldner (and others), that *indrasenā* denotes Mudgala's wife, is justified. The two Mahābhārata stories together thus show that Bergaigne (partially) and Geldner were both correct in the views that they held regarding the word *indrasenā*.

* * * *

In the course of the above discussion, we have met with the names of two women, Damayantī and Indrasenā, who were regarded as patterns of pativrata. Compare Mahābhārata, III. 114. 22-24 :

*Śāntā cainaṁ paryacaran narendra
khe Rohiṇī Somam ivānukūlā ||*

*Arundhati vā subhagā Vasiṣṭham
Loṭāmudrā vā yathā hy Agastyam |
Nalasya vai Damayanti yathābhūd
yathā Śaci Vajradharasya caiva ||*

¹⁶ The Kumbakonam edition contains some more stanzas in which it is said that this woman was the daughter of Nala.

*Nālāyanī cendrasenā babhūva
vaśyā nityam Mudgalasyājamiḍha |
yathā Sītā Dāśarather mahātmāno
yathā tava Draupadī Pañḍuputra |
tathā Śāntā Rṣyaśrīgam vanastham
priyā yuktā paryacaran narendra ||*

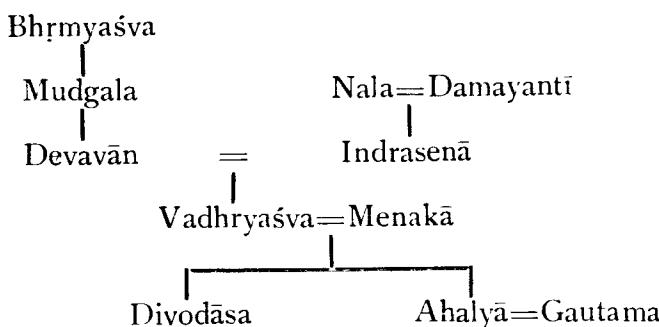
and ibid. IV. 24. 17-23 :

*duhitā Janakasyāśid Vaidhī yadi te śrutā |
paṭim anvacarat Sītā mahāraṇya-nivāsinam ||
vasantī ca mahāraṇye Rāmasya mahiṣī priyā |
Rāvaṇena hṛtā Sītā rākṣasibhiḥ ca tarjitā |
sā kliṣyamānā suśroṇi Rāmam evānvaḍadyata ||
Lopāmudrā tathā bhīru bhartāram ṛṣisattamam |
bhagavantam Agastyam sā vanāyaivānvaḍadyata ||
Sukanyā nāma Śāryāter Bhārgava-cyavanam vane |
valmīka-bhūtam sādhvī tam anvaḍadyata bhāminī ||
Nālāyanī cendrasenā rūpeṇāpaṭimā bhuvī |
paṭim anvacarad vṛddham purā varṣa-sahasriṇam ||
Nalam rājānam evāthā Damayantī vanāntare |
anvagacchat purā Kṛṣṇe tathā bhartṛṁś tvam anvagāḥ
yathaitāḥ kīrtitā nāryo rūpavatyaḥ paṭivratāḥ |
tathā tvam api kalyāṇi sarvaiḥ samuditā guṇaiḥ ||*

These two were related to each other as mother and daughter. It is therefore interesting to find in this connection that Ahalyā (wife of Gautama and mother of Śatananda and others) who is regarded as a pattern of chastity,¹⁷ was the daughter of Vadhryaśva son of Indrasenā (Bhāgavata, IX. 21. 34).

¹⁷ See Apte's Dictionary, s.v. *ahalyā*.

We can now rewrite Pargiter's genealogical table as follows :



Of these names, all except *Bhṛmyaśva*, *Nala*, *Damayantī* and *Menakā* are found in the RV.

§ 4

śagmā

This is an infrequently used word that occurs in about ten passages in the RV and in about the same number of passages in other Vedic texts. It is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst *sukha-nāmāni* (3, 6) along with *śiva*, *syona*, *śam* and other words. *Sāyaṇa*, in his RV commentary explains it mostly as *sukha* or *sukha-kara*, but in two places (7, 97, 6 ; 8, 2, 27) gives the alternative explanation of *śakta*; *Bhaṭṭabhāskara* explains it as *sukha* or *samartha* and as *śakti-viṣeṣa* in his commentary on TS. 1. 8. 22. 2. and TB. 1. 5. 5. 1, while *Uvaṭa* and *Mahīdhara* know nothing of *śakta* or *samartha* and explain the word as *sukha* or *sukha-kara* in their commentaries on VS. 3, 43 ; 4, 2 and 29, 45.

Roth, in the PW, points out that the word is derived from the root *śak* 'to be able' and explains it as 'hilfreich, mittheilsam, entgegenkommend, gütig, fromm' while *Grassmann* has assigned to it the meanings

‘vermögend, stark, kräftig.’ Similarly, Ludwig too translates the word as ‘kräftig, helfend, wirksam, stark’ in his *RV. Ueber.*, while Oldenberg translates it as ‘mighty’ in 1, 143, 8 (SBE. 46), but as ‘Glück’ in *Ind. St.* 15, 74. Likewise, Geldner, in his *RV. Glossar*, explains it as ‘Glück bringend, heilsam, erfolgreich, günstig’; but in his *RV. Ueber.*, he has given up this view and, following Grassmann and others, translated the word as ‘tüchtig.’

Now it seems to be plain that the word *śagmá* is derived from the root *śak* ‘to be able’; but it is also equally plain that the meaning ‘mighty, kräftig,’ or ‘tüchtig’ does not fit into the context in *RV.* 7, 54, 3: *śagmáyā saṁsádā te sakṣimáhi raiṇváyā gātumátyā* while the meaning *śiva* or *sukha-kara* does. Hence it is not probable that *śagmá* means ‘stark, tüchtig, kräftig or mighty’ as Grassmann and the other scholars mentioned above think. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the words *śiva*, *syona* and *śamyoḥ* in *VS.* 3, 43: *kṣemāya vah śāntyai prapadye śivān śagmān śamyoḥ śamyoḥ*; 4, 2: *dikṣātapásos tanúr asi tāṁ tvā śivān śagmām páridadhe*; *AV.* 19, 8, 2: *asṭāvimsāni śivāni śagmāni sahá yógam bhajantu me*; 14, 2, 17: *ághoracaksur ápatighnī syonā śagmā susévā*; 4, 27, 3: *śagmā bhavantu marúto nah syonāḥ*; and *Śāṅkh.* *GS.* 3, 5, 1: *śagmām śagmām śivām śivām kṣemāya vah śāntyai prapadye* points to the conclusion that *śagmá* is a synonym of *śiva*. The Brāhmaṇa passage, *tāṁ tvā śivām śāntām śagmām sasukhām sādhvīm vā*, too, cited by Uvāṭa in his commentary¹ on *VS.* 4, 2 shows that the word was so understood in the time of the Brāhmaṇas; and since this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages

¹ Uvāṭa merely calls it *śruti*; but one can understand clearly from the way in which the passage is cited, that he is citing from a recension of the Śata. Br. The corresponding passage of the Ajmere edition reads as *tāṁ tvā śivān śagmām paridadha iti tāṁ tvā śivām sādhvīm paridadha ity evaitad āha*.

in which it is used (as will be shown presently), there is no doubt that the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* as also Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara are right in explaining the word as *śīva*, *sukha*, or *sukhakara*.

1, 130, 10 : *sá no návyebhir vṛṣakarmann ukthaiḥ*
púrāṁ dartaḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śagmāiḥ |
divodāsēbhir indra stāvāno
vāvṛdhīthā áhobhir iva dyaúḥ ||

“O thou of strong deeds (praised) with new hymns, protect us with thy auspicious protections, O shatterer of forts. Praised by the Divodāsas (i. e., the descendants of Divodāsa) do thou, O Indra, wax mighty day by day like Dyaus”.

After *ukthaiḥ* in pāda a, I supply the word *stāvānah* from c ; compare Sāyaṇa and Geldner, *RV. Über.* The import of pāda d is not clear. Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner construe *áhobhir iva* with *dyauś* and translate the expression as ‘durch Strahlen wie der Himmel’, ‘wie mit [in] den tagen der himel’, and ‘wie der Tag mit der Tageszeiten’; so does Sāyaṇa also who explains it as *dyauḥ dyotana-śīla ādityaḥ áhobhiḥ prasiddhāiḥ yathā pravṛddho bhavati*. This is not very satisfactory, and I therefore think that it is preferable to construe *áhobhiḥ* with *vāvṛdhīthāḥ* and regard *dyaur iva* only as forming the upamāna. The meaning of the pāda therefore is, ‘O Indra, may thy might increase day by day (so as to equal or surpass) that of Dyaus’. Compare in this connection 4, 21, 1 : *ā yātv indrah . . vāvṛdhānāś tāviṣir yásya pūrvir dyauṛ ná kṣatrām abhibhūti puṣyāt* “May Indra come who, developing his many strengths, increase, like Dyaus, in might overcoming those of others.”

The expression *śagmāiḥ pāyúbhiḥ* in b is equivalent to *śīvāiḥ pāyúbhiḥ* used in 8, 60, 8 : *śivēbhiḥ pāhi pāyúbhiḥ*; compare also 1, 143, 8 : *śivēbhir naḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śagmāiḥ* and 6, 71, 3 : *ádabdhēbhiḥ savitāḥ pāyúbhiḥ*

tvāṁ śivébhir adyá pāri pāhi. Compare also the word *saúbhagebhiḥ* in 1, 112, 25 : *dyubhīr aktúbhiḥ pāri pātam asmān āriṣṭebhir aśvinā saúbhagebhiḥ.*

1, 143, 8: *áprayuccann áprayuccadbhir agne
śivébhir naḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śagmāiḥ |
ádabdhebhir ádṛpītebhir iṣṭe
'nimiṣadbhīḥ pāri pāhi no jāḥ ||*

“ Protect us, O Agni, never failing, with watchful, auspicious, beneficent protections. O thou sacrifice, protect our children with unwinking [i.e., always watchful] undeceived heedful (protections).” The meaning of *iṣṭe* (so, without accent according to the Padapāṭha) in pāda c is not clear. Being unaccented, it must be a vocative of *iṣṭi* and mean either ‘O thou our wish’ (this is how Oldenberg understands it, SBE. 46, 158 ; see also Sāyaṇa) or ‘O sacrifice.’ I am inclined to think that neither of these two meanings is correct and that the RV poet had something quite different in his mind. *iṣṭa* is found similarly used in 6, 8, 7 also, *ádabdhebhis tāva gopābir iṣṭe 'smākam pāhi triṣadhaṣṭha sūrīn.* In both places, Geldner (RV. Ueber. I, 183) is inclined to think that the word used is *iṣṭé*, short for *iṣṭébhiḥ*, and that it means ‘dear’ and is an attribute of *pāyúbhiḥ* or *gopābhiḥ*.

5, 43, 11: *ā no divó bṛhatāḥ párvatād ā
sárasvatī yajatā gantu yajñām |
hávāṁ devī jujuṣāṇā ghṛtācī
śagmāṁ no vācam uṣatī śṛṇotu ||*

“ May the adorable Sarasvatī come to our sacrifice from the high heaven, from the mountain. May she, rich in ghee, and showing favour to our invocation, listen lovingly to our auspicious hymn ”. Regarding *śagmāṁ vācam* in pāda d, compare *sámtamāni vācāṁsi* and *sámtamā gīḥ* etc. in 6, 32, 1: *sámtamāni vācāṁsy āśā sthávirāya takṣam* ; 5, 42, 1: *prá sámtamā várūṇam dīdhiti gīr mitrám bhágam áditim nūnám aṣyāḥ* ; 5, 43,

8 : ácchā mahī brhati śámtamā gír dūtō ná gantu ; 1, 76,
 1 : bhúvad agne śámtamā kā maniṣā and 8, 74, 7 : sā
 [sc. matih] te agne śámtamā cāniṣṭhā bhavatu priyā.

6, 44, 2 : yáḥ śagmás tuviṣagma te
 rāyó dāmā matinām |
 sómāḥ sutāḥ sá indra té
 'sti svadhāpate mádah ||

“ O thou most beneficent, the beneficent intoxicating Soma, giver of riches and hymns, is pressed for thee, O Indra, lord of strength ”. Compare the epithet śámtamāḥ applied to mádah in 9, 104, 3 and to Indra in 8, 53, 5 : ā śámtama śámtamābhir abhíṣṭibhiḥ ; compare also 1, 171, 3 : utá stutó maghávā śámbhavíṣṭhāḥ.

6, 75, 8 : rathaváhanām havír asya nāma
 yátrāyudham níhitam asya várma |
 tárā rátham úpa śagmám sadema
 viśváhā vayám sumanasyámānāḥ ||

“ *havir* (–*dhāna*) is the name of this chariot-carrier (i.e., of the waggon which carries the chariot) in which is placed the weapon and coat of mail of this (warrior). May we with well-disposed mind always place in it the beneficent chariot.” I follow Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara (VS. 29, 45) in regarding *havir* in pāda a as a contraction of *havir-dhāna* ; see also Geldner, Ved. St., 2, 275. *havir-dhāna* denotes the waggon which carries the *havis* or oblation ; and the chariot-waggon is so called here because the chariot itself as also the weapon and armour are regarded by the RV poet as forming the oblation which the warrior-sacrificer uses in the battle-sacrifice.

Regarding the expression śagmám rátham in c, compare the epithets *sukhā* and *sukhátama* that are applied to *rátha* in many RV verses (for references see Grassmann, s. v. *sukha*), and also the epithet *sacanás* that is applied to it in 1, 116, 18 : *revád uvāha sacanó rátho vām*. Compare also the epithet *váhiṣṭha* ‘most

comfortable' in 4, 14, 4: *ā vāṁ vāhiṣṭhā ihā té vahantu rāthā ásvāsaḥ*.

7, 54, 3: *vāstoṣ pate śagmāyā saṁsādā te sakṣīmāhi raṇvāyā gātumātyā | pāhī kṣēma utā yóge vāram no yūyāṁ pāta svastibhiḥ sādā naḥ ||*

"May we, Vāstoṣpati, be joined with thy company that is beneficent, pleasant and continuing. Protect us well when we are quietly enjoying or acquiring property. Do ye protect us always with (your) blessings."

7, 60, 5: *imē cetāro áṇi tasya bhūrce mitrō aryamā vāruṇo hí sānti | imā ṛtasya vāvṛdhur duroṇé śagmāsaḥ putrā áditer ádabdhāḥ ||*

"These are the avengers of great wrong, Mitra, Aryamā and Varuṇa. These undeceivable beneficent sons of Aditi grew up in the house of ṛta (Law)". With the expression *śagmāsaḥ putrā áditeḥ* in pāda d, compare 10, 77, 8: *yajñiyāsa úmā ādityēna nāmnā śāmbhaviṣṭhāḥ* and 1, 106, 2: *tā ādityā ā gataṁ sarvātātaye bhūtā devā vṛtratāryeṣu śāmbhūvah*.

7, 97, 6: *tāṁ śagmāśo aruṣāśo áśvā bṛhaspātiṁ sahačāho vahanti | sahaś cit yasya nīlavat sadhāstham nābho nā rūpām aruṣāṁ vāsānāḥ ||*

"Him, Bṛhaspati, whose blue place , draw good bright horses that draw together and that, like the sky, wear brilliant jewels".

Instead of *nīlavat*, the reading *nīlāvat* is found in many MSS in the third pāda, whose import, with either reading, is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains padas cd as *yasya Bṛhaspateḥ sahaś cit balāṁ ca bhavati | nīlāṁ nilayo nīvāsaḥ | tad-yuktāṁ sadhāstham saha-sthānāṁ ca yasya tam Bṛhaspatim ity anvayaḥ | kidṛṣā aśvāḥ | nabho na ādityam iva aruṣam ārocāmānam rūpām vāsānā dhārayantah*. Grassmann translates them as 'dessen

Kraft erstarkt ist, ihn fahren hin zum dunkeln Sitz die Hengste . . . mit rothem Glanz umkleidet, wie mit Wolkem', and Ludwig as 'des sigeskraft wie ein nestartiger [zufluchts] ort, die wie der wolkenhimeł in rote farbe gehüllte '.

śagmāśo áśvāḥ=horses that draw the chariot comfortably, i. e., good carriage-horses; compare *áśvān* . . . *váhiyasaḥ* in 1, 104, 1 and *váhiṣṭhā áśvāḥ* in 4, 14, 4 cited above and other verses (for references see Grassmann s. v. *váhiṣṭha*). Compare also *suṣṭhuváḥo áśvāḥ* in 10, 107, 11: *bhojām áśvāḥi suṣṭhuváḥo vahanti*.

8, 2,27: *éhā hárī brahmayújā*
śagmā vakṣataḥi sákhāyam |
gīrbhīḥ śrutāṁ gírvāṇasam ||

" May the two good horses that are yoked by the hymn, draw here friend (Indra), fond of praises, who is famous because of hymns of praise ".

10, 31, 5: *iyām sā bhūyā uṣásām iva kṣā*
yád dha kṣumántah sávasā samāyan |
asyá stutíṁ jaritúr bhíkṣamāṇā
ā naḥ śagmāsa úpa yantu vājāḥ ||

" May this be the abode, as of the Dawns, where (Riches) come together with food and strength. May the beneficent Riches come to us, eagerly longing for the hymn of this singer ". Regarding *śagmāsaḥ vājāḥ*, compare 10, 53, 8: *átrā jahāma yé ásann áśevāḥi śivān vayām út taremābhí vājān*.

VS. 3, 43: *úpahūtā ihā gāvā*
úpahūtā ájāvayāḥ |
átho ánnasya kilāla
úpahūto gr̄hēṣu naḥ |
kṣemāya vāḥ śāntyai prāpadye
śivān śagmān śāmyōḥ śāmyōḥ ||

" Here invoked are cows; invoked, sheep and goats. Then invoked in this our house is the sweetness of food

(i. e., sweet food). I implore you for peace and prosperity ; good fortune, good fortune, happiness, happiness."

VS. 4, 2 : *āpo asmān mātārah śundhayantu ghṛtēna no
ghṛtaपवः पुनान्तु । विश्वान् हि रिप्राम् प्रवाह-
हान्ति देवीर् उद् इद् अभ्याह् शुचिर् अ पृतां एमि ।
दिक्षातपासो तानुर् एसि ताम् त्वां शिवान् शग्मान्
पारि दद्धे भद्राम् वार्णाम् पूर्णाम् ॥*

" May the Waters, mothers, cleanse us ; may they who are clear like ghee, cleanse us with ghṛta. The bright ones indeed wash off all filth and I shall get up from them clean and pure. Thou art the body of dīkṣā and tapas, and I put on thee, auspicious, beneficent, glorying in a resplendent appearance."

AV. 4, 27, 3 : *páyo dhenūnām rásam óśadhiṇām
javám árvatām kavayo yá ínvathā ।
śagmā bhavantu marúto nahi syonās
té no muñcantu ámīhasah ॥*

" O ye poets, who impel milk in cows, sap in herbs, swiftness in coursers, may the Maruts be beneficent, propitious, to us ; may they free us from distress."

AV. 14, 2, 17 : *ághoracakṣur ápatighnī syonā
śagmā susévā suyámā gṛhēbhyaḥ ।
vīrasúr devyākāmā sámī tváyai-
dhiśimahi sumanasyámānā ॥*

" With eye not terrible, not husband-slaying, happiness-conferring, beneficent, propitious, of easy control to the house, bearing male children, loving brothers-in-law, with well-disposed mind, — may we thrive together with thee."

AV. 18, 2, 21 : *hváyāni te mánasā mána ihé-
mān gṛhānū úpa jujuśānā chi ।
sámī gacchāsva pitṛbhiḥ sámī yaména
syonās tvā vātā úpa vāntu śagmāḥ ॥*

" I call thy mind here with mind ; come to this house, liking ; unite thyself with the Fathers, with Yama ; let happy auspicious winds waft thee (to them)."

AV. 18, 4, 8 : *āṅgirasām áyanām pūrvo agnir
ādityānām áyanām gārhapatyo
dákṣiṇānām áyanām dakṣiṇāgnih |
mahimānām agnér vihitasya brāhmaṇā
sámaṅgah sárvā úpa yāhi śagmāḥ ||*

“ The path of the Aṅgirases is the eastern fire ; the path of the Ādityas is the Gārhapatya fire (i. e., householder’s fire); the track of the sacrificial gifts is the southern fire ; do thou, with thy limbs, whole, happy, attain to the greatness of Agni who has been created by Brahman ”.

AV. 19, 8, 2 : *aṣṭāvīṁśāni śivāni śagmāni
sahá yógam bhajantu me |
yógam prá padye kṣemām ca
kṣemām prá padye yógam ca
námo 'horātrābhyaṁ astu ||*

“ The twenty-eight (asterisms) that are beneficent, helpful, may they be brought into association with me. I take refuge with Yoga (acquisition of property) and Kṣema (enjoyment of property); with Kṣema and Yoga I take refuge. I bow to Day and Night ”.

Pādas ab mean, ‘O ye twenty-eight asterisms, may I be brought into your association, which is auspicious, beneficent’; compare with them RV. 7, 54, 3 : *vāstoś
pate śagmáyā samsádā te sakṣimáhi rāṇváyā gātumátyā* explained above.

śagmá further occurs in TB. 1, 5, 5 : *vaiśvānarasya
tejasā | ṛtenāya nivartaye | satyena parivartay | tapasā
'syānuvartaye | śivenā 'syopavartaye | śagmenā 'syābhivartaye* in a mantra that is recited by the priest when shaving the yajamāna. It is not known exactly what the operations are that are denoted by the words *nivartana*, *parivartana*, *anuvartana*, *upavartana* and *abhivartana* here ; but there is no doubt that *śagmá* like *śiva* denotes ‘beneficence’ or ‘auspiciousness’ here.

Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 5, 1 : *śagmāṁ śagmāṁ śivam̄ śivam̄ kṣemāya vāḥ śāntyai prapadye 'bhayam̄ no astu grāmo mā 'raṇyāya paridadātu viśvamahāya mā paridochi* |

“ Good fortune, good fortune, happiness, happiness ; I take refuge with you for well-being and peace. May there be security for us ; let the village give me over to the forest. Give me over to the all-great (forest).”

From *śagmá* is derived the word *śagmiya* or *śagmya*, which too denotes ‘beneficent, auspicious’ and occurs in the two following verses :

RV. 3, 31, 1 : *sāśad vāhnir duhitúr naptyām gād
vidvān̄ ṛtāsyā dīdhitim̄ saparyān̄ |
piṭā yātra duhitūḥ sékam ḫñján̄
sām̄ śagmyēna mānasā dadhanvē* ||

The import of this verse is obscure. See Śāyaṇa’s commentary, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, and Geldner, *RV. Ueber*. I translate mechanically : “ To the granddaughter went, instructing, the leader of the sacrifice knowing ṛta (Law), honouring pious thought, where the father, passing semen to the daughter, together ran with beneficent thought.”

AV. 5, 1, 9 : *ardhām ardhēna pūyasā pṛṇakṣy
ardhēna śuṣma vārdhase amūra |
āvīm vṛdhāma śagmīyām sākhaṇyām
vāruṇyām putrām adityā iṣīrām |
kavīṣṭastāny asmai vāpūṇṣy
avocāma rōḍasī satyavācā* ||

This verse too, as also the other verses of this hymn, is obscure ; compare Whitney’s observation (*AV. Trans*, p. 200), ‘ This hymn is intentionally and most successfully obscure’. I reproduce here his (mechanical) translation with some alterations :

“ Half with half milk thou mixest ; with half, O unovercome strength, thou growest. May we magnify

the beneficent friend, Varuṇa the vigorous son of Aditi, the sheep. We have spoken for him brilliant (hymns) praised by poets; the two firmaments of true speech".

§ 5
svásara

The attempts so far made to elucidate the meaning of this word are not satisfactory. The author of the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* has mentioned this word three times—once (1,9) as a synonym of *ahas*, day, once, (3, 4) as a synonym of *gr̥ha*, dwelling, and once (4, 2) without mentioning any meaning. The deficiency in this last instance is made good by Yāska who has interpreted it as *ahas*. This meaning *ahas* is repeated by Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara in their commentaries on VS. 26, 11 and by Devarāja in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*. Sāyaṇa, on the other hand, has, in his RV commentary, made use not only of the meaning *ahas* and *gr̥ha* (with suitable modifications, as for instance, *yāgāhan* 9, 94, 2; *kulāya* 2, 19, 2; *goṣṭha* 2, 2, 2, etc.) but has in addition interpreted the word as *āditya* in 5, 62, 2, as *mārga* in 6, 68, 10, and as *śarīra* in 1, 34, 7; see Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 111.

Roth has assigned to this word the meanings (1) Hürde, Stall; (2) Gewohnter Ort, Wohnplatz, Wohnung, Nistplatz der Vögel; that is to say, he has confined himself to the meaning *gr̥ha* and rejected the meaning *ahas*. This meaning, however, hardly yields good sense in many of the passages where the word occurs; and Geldner has, therefore, in his article on this word (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 110 ff.), investigated anew its meaning, and starting with the assumption that it means both a place and a time of day (as declared by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu*), has come to the conclusion that *svásara*

means (1) Frühtrieb, Morgenweide; the time before *saṅgava* when the cows graze freely on the pasture; (2) Frühhausflug aus dem Nest, die Morgenatzung with regard to birds; and (3) die Frühmesse, Frühlibation, and, *upalakṣaṇa*, all the three *savanāni* or libations¹. This interpretation is approved of by Macdonell (see his *Vedic Index*, s. v. *ahan*, *go*, *svasara*) and apparently by Oldenberg also who translates (*RV. Noten* I, 260) 3, 60, 6c as 'Diese Weiden bieten sich dir dar.' Hillebrandt, on the other hand, translates (*Lieder des RI.*, p. 80) 5, 62, 2c as 'Ihr macht alle Milchströme des (himmlischen) Stalles strotzen' and seems therefore still to follow Roth in his interpretation of the word.

It seems to me that the translations given above of 3, 60, 6 and 5, 62, 2 by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt are hardly satisfactory. Nor are Geldner's translations (given in his *RV. Uebersetzung*) of 1, 34, 7cd ('Drei Entfernungen kommt ihr Wagenlenker Aśvin her zu Frühmesse wie der Windhauch zur Frühweide'), 2, 19, 2cd ('dass die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen') and 3, 60, 6cd ('Dir stehen diese [Soma-] weiden zur Verfügung auf Geheiss der Götter und nach den Satzungen des Menschen') any better: they indicate that the meanings proposed by Geldner for the word *svásara* are not correct and that they need to be revised.

The reason for such incorrectness, too, is not far to seek. Geldner has begun his exposition (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 111) with the observations (1) that the verses 2, 34, 8: *dhenúr ná sīśve svásareṣu pīnvate*; 2, 2, 2: *abhí tvā náktir uṣáso vavāśiré 'gne vatsáṁ ná svásareṣu dhenávah*; 8, 88,

¹ In his *RV. Glossar*, Geldner gives two meanings only, 'Frühweide, Frühatzung, fig. für die Morgenlibation 1, 3, 8; 2, 34, 5; 8, 90, 1' for this word. It is uncertain whether he has given up the other meanings or merely abstained from reproducing them here as being (in his opinion) inappropriate in the verses referred to.

1: *abhi vatsām ná svásareṣu dhenávā índram gírbhír navāmahe*; 9, 94, 2: *dhiyāḥ pīnvānāḥ svásare ná gāvā rtāyāntīr abhi vāvaśra índum* show that the cows ooze with milk and low for their calves at the time or place of *svásara*, and (2) that the the verses 1, 186, 5: *śíṣum ná pīpyūṣīva veti síndhuḥ* and 2, 16, 8: *dhenūr ná vatsām yávasasya pīpyūṣī* show that the milch-cow longs for and returns to her calf when she is *pīpyuṣī* or *yávasasya pīpyuṣī*. These observations are unexceptionable², and when taken into consideration along with the statement in Tait. Br. 1, 4, 9, 2: (*tasmāt trir ahnāḥ paśavāḥ prerate | prātāḥ saṅgave sāyam*) that the cows went out to graze thrice a day, *prātāḥ*, *saṅgave* and *sāyam*, they point to the conclusion that the cows returned home from the pasture thrice a day oozing with milk and longing and lowing for their calves. Similarly, Geldner's further observation (p. 113) that *svasara* denotes the time when the cows roam about and freely graze on the pastures (*sva-sara*), supposing that it is correct, points, when taken in conjunction with the above statement of the Tait. Br., to the conclusion that there are three periods of time in each day which can be denoted by the word *svasara* and not one period only, that preceding the *saṅgava* time, as stated by Geldner.

². Except that, as regards the second observation, the word *pīpyuṣī* in 2, 16, 8 has no connection with the word *yávasasya* which precedes it and which is to be construed with the verb *abhy ā vavṛtsva*. The cow moreover does not long for her calf when she is *pīpyuṣī* but becomes *pīpyuṣī* [*i.e.*, oozing with milk] when she remembers and longs for her calf or sees it; compare Kirātājunīya 4, 10: *upāratāḥ paścīmarātrīgorād apārayantah patitum jareṇa gām | tam utsukāś cakruḥ avekṣāṇ-utsukāṇ gavām gaṇāḥ pṛasnuta pīvaraudhasah* and the commentator's explanation *utsukā vatsēṣṭi kānthatāḥ, pṛasnuta pīvaraudhaso vatsasmarānāt sravat pīnāpīnāḥ*; Raghuvanīśa 1, 84: *bhuvām koṣṇena kundodhni medhyenāvabhr̥thād api | pīasravenābhr̥vāśanti vatsāloka pṛavartinā*; Yaśastilakacampū, 2, 184: *kvacid vatsēksana-ksana-ksarāt-stana-dhenu-dugdha-dhārā-dhāryamāna-dhārāpītham*.

Now, what are the three times of the day when the cows were driven out to graze? It has been remarked, in this connection, by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, s. v. *go*, note 4) that the exact sense of the above-mentioned passage of the Tait. Br. (1, 4, 9, 2) is obscure and that 'strictly speaking, the cows were driven out from the cattleshed in the morning, spent the heat of the day in the Samgavini, were then driven out during the evening to graze and finally came or were driven home.' That is to say, the cows were, according to him, driven out to graze twice only in the day—in the morning before *samgava*, and in the afternoon after *samgava*, and not thrice. This view seems to me to be untenable, and I am disposed to think that the statement of the Tait. Br. is correct and that the cows were driven out to graze thrice a day—in the morning (*prātah*), in the *samgava* time (*samgave*), and in the evening (*sāyam*), that is to say, in the latter part of the night (*paśimārātra*) before the morning-milking, in the late morning after the morning-milking, and in the afternoon some time after the *samgava*-milking, and that they returned or were driven home from the pasture before the morning-milking, before the *samgava*-milking, and before the evening-milking respectively. Compare also Bhaṭṭabhāskara's comment (p. 235) *tasmād ahnas triḥ pravrate paśavaś caranārtham pratiṣṭhante prātah samgave sāyam ca* on this passage.

The return home of the milch-cows has been described frequently by the later Sanskrit classical writers from whose writings I reproduce here some passages on this subject :

1. *upāratāḥ paśimārātrigocarād
apārayantāḥ patitum javena gām |
tam utsukāś cakrur avekṣaṇotsukam
gavāṁ gaṇāḥ prasnutapivaraudhasah ||*

2. *nirvāti vāsare astācala-kūla- kīrīte niculamañjari-
bhāmsi tejāmsi muñcati viyan-muci marīci-mālini
divasa-vihṛti-pratyāgataṁ prasnuta-stanam̄ sta-
nam̄-dhaye dhayati dhenuvārgam udgata-kṣīraṁ
kṣudhita-tarṇaka-vrāte*

Harśacarita (Nirṇayasāgara ed., p. 80).

3. *anindya Nandinī nāma dhenur āvavṛte vanāt ||
bhūvaṁ koṣṭena kūṇḍodhī medhyenāvabhrthād api
prasraveṇābhīvarṣantī vatsālokaapravartinā ||*

Raghuvam̄sha (1, 82-84)

4. *sa naicikih pratyaham ātaपāntē
pratyuktāghoṣā iva vatsanādaih |
madhūni vāṁśadhvaniibhih prayacchan
nināya bhūyo 'pi nivāsabhūmim ||*

Yādavābhyudaya 4, 89.

5. *sāyam̄ gato yāmayamena Mādhavāḥ ||
gāvas tato goṣṭham upetya satvaram
huṇkāraghoṣaih pariḥūtasam̄gatān |
svakān svakān vatsatarān aphaayan
muhur tihantyāḥ sravād audhasam̄ payāḥ ||*

Śrīmad-Bhāgavata 10. 13. 23-24.

6. *vimucyamāneṣu sandhyopāsanāñjali-mukuleṣu
vighaṭamāneṣu cakravāka-mithunesu
mukharībhavatsu mathyamāneṣu
arṇavārṇassv iva abhyarṇa-tarṇaka-svanākar-
ṇanodirṇena dhenuṣyāṇāṁ dīrgha-rambhītāra-
vena gopuramukheṣu*

Yaśastilaka-campū 2, p. 10.

The first of these passages describes the return home of the cows from the *paścimarātrīgocara*, longing (*utsuka*) for their calves and with their udders oozing milk. *paścimarātrīgocara* means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night; and hence this verse describes the return home of the cows before

the *prātardoha*.³ The other passages refer to the return home of the milch-cows in the evening and likewise represent these cows as eager to rejoin their calves, lowing to them, and hastening to them (*goṣṭham upetya satvaram*) with their udders oozing milk (*prasnutastanam*; *prasravēṇa*; *sravat audhasam pāyāḥ*).

This eagerness of the cows to join their calves, their lowing to them and their hastening to them with udders oozing milk are features that figure also in innumerable verses of the RV that contain comparisons. Compare for instance 10, 149, 4: *vāśréva vatsām̄ sumānā dūhānā pātir iva jāyām abhī no ny ètu*; 10, 75, 4: *abhī tvā sindho sīśum̄ in nā mātāro vāśrā arṣanti pāyaseva dhenāvāḥ*; 1, 38, 8: *vāśréva vīdyūn̄ mīmāti vatsām̄ nā mātā sīṣakti*; 1, 32, 2: *vāśrā iva dhenāvāḥ syāndamānā áñjāḥ samudrām̄ ávā jagmūr ápāḥ*; 1, 164, 28: *gaūr amīmed ánu vatsām̄ mīṣāntām̄ mūrdhānām̄ hiññ akṛṇon mātāvā u | sīkvañām̄ gharmām̄ abhī vāvāsānā mīmāti māyūm̄ pāyate pāyobhiḥ*; 9, 86, 2: *áśrakṣata rāthyāso yāthā pīthak | dhenūr nā vatsām̄ pāyasaḥkī vajrīnam̄*. In the same way, the lowing of the calves for their mother-cows and the licking of the calves by the cows (see Bhāgavata, 10, 13, 24 cited above) are likewise referred to in many RV verses; compare, in respect of the former, 1, 164, 9: *ámīmed vatsō ánu gām̄ aphaśyat*; 9, 94, 4: *tām̄ vāvāsānām̄ mātāyāḥ sacante*; 10, 1, 2: *prā mātāybhyo ádhi kānikradad gāḥ* and in respect of the latter, 3, 41, 5; *rihānti śāvāsas pātīm | indram̄ vatsām̄ nā mātārah*; 3, 55, 13: *anyāsyā vatsām̄ rihati mīmāya*;

³ The *prātardoha* takes place in the morning and the cows are immediately after driven out again to the pasture. This pasture can not be denoted by the word *paścimārātri-gocara* which means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night. In the Kaunala country, it is known as *ibbani meru* 'pasture on which dew is falling or has just fallen'; and in the Tamil country it is known as *śīru vīḍu*; see *Tiruppārai* translated in Indian Antiquary, Vol. 55, p. 163, stanza 8, and also *ibid*, 56, 107, n. 10.

1, 186, 7 : *siśum ná gāvas tāruṇāṁ rihanti* ; 3, 33, 3 : *vatsām iva mātārā samrihāṇé*.

The passages cited above describe the return home of the milch-cows in the early morning (before the *prātar-doha*) and in the evening (before the *sāyām-doha*) only. I do not know of any which describes their return home at the *sāmgava* time⁴ (before the *sāmgava* milking)⁵; but it can not be doubted that, at that time too, the milch-cows would be eager to rejoin their calves and would hasten to them, lowing and with their udders oozing milk. The oozing of milk from the cows' udders is thus not the characteristic of a place, but of a **time**—the time when the milch-cows return home⁶ from the pasture and are milked. This, as we have seen above, takes place three times a day—*prātak*,

⁴ That they did return home before the *sāmgava* time is clearly indicated by Tait. Br., 1, 5, 3, 1: *mitrasya samgavah i tat puṇyam tejasvī ahah | tasmāt tarhi paśavah samāyanti* and Bhaṭṭabhāskara's comment *diganteṣu caritvā vrajam samāgauchanti* thereon.

⁵ This is perhaps due to the fact that while the *prātar-doha* and *sāyām-doha* are universal, the *sāmgava-doha* as well as the return home of the cows at that time, is not. Compare for instance the passage in the *Raghuvainī* beginning with 2, 1 : *atha brajānām adhipah prabhāte jāyāpratigrāhitagandhamālyām | vanāya pīta-pratibaddha-vatsām yaśodhano dhenum rṣer mumoca* which states that the king let loose the cow in order to go and graze in the forest at daybreak after the morning milking, and ending with 2, 15 : *saṁcārapūtāni digantārāni kṛtvā dinānte nilayāya gantum | pracakrame pāllavarāgatāmīā prabhā patangasya mūneś ca dhenuḥ* which says that the milch-cow turned her face home in the evening after having roamed about all the day. It is obvious from this passage that *Vasiṣṭha*'s *homadhenu* did not return home, and was not milked, at *sāmgava* time. Compare also the epithet *divasa-vihṛti-pratyā-gatam* that is applied to *dhenuvargam* in the *Harṣacarita* passage cited above.

⁶ And hence I would derive the word *svasara* as *svaṁ svakiyāṁ sthānāṁ saranti pratyā gacchanti yasmin kāle gāvas tat svasaram*.

sāmgave and *sāyam* or roughly, in the three *sandhyā* or *savana* times. It is these three times of the day that are denoted by the word *svásara*.

svásara is thus approximately equivalent to *sandhyā*, and in the plural, may be said to be a synonym of the word *trisandhya* or *triśavāya*. It is a *kālavācakasabda* or word denoting time; and as such, it can be used in sentences to denote the time "when" not only in the locative case, but in the accusative and genitive cases also; see Whitney, §§274c, 300a, and 302b. Compare also Gaedicke (p. 178): "Der Accusativ von Zeitbegriffen besagt, dass der Vorgang während ihrer Dauer, der Genitiv, dass er während eines Theils derselben, der Locativ, dass er zwischen ihren Grenzen, der Instrumental, dass er mit ihrem Eintritt und Verlauf stattfindet. Daher kann die Frage 'wie lange' nur durch den Accusative beantwortet werden, während das 'wann' durch alle vier Casus bestimmt werden kann."

Like the word *sandhyā* which, though denoting the three *sandhyā* times, morning, noon and evening, is sometimes used in the sense of 'evening' only (see Apte), the word *svásara* too, seems frequently to be used in the sense of 'evening.' This seems to be the case in the verses which refer to the cows oozing milk for their calves or lowing to them. And likewise there seems to be no doubt that *svásara* means 'evening' in verses 2, 19, 2 and 2, 34, 5, where it is mentioned in connection with birds (*vayah*; *haṁsāḥ*); for it is well-known that birds return to their nests in the evening and this fact is referred to in many passages in the later classical literature also. Compare for instance :

ākulaś cala-patatri-kulānām
āravair anuditausasa-rāgah |
āyayāv aharidaśva-vipāṇḍus
tulyatām dina-mukhena dināntah ||

Subhāśitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (1911, p. 308, v. 27)

*paripatati payonidhau pataṅgah
sarasiṛuhām udareṣu matta-bhṛṅgah |
upavana-taru-koṭare vihaṅgas
taruṇi-janeṣu śanaiśśanair anaṅgah ||*

Ibid. (v. 45)

*āvāsotsuka-paṅgīṇah kalarutam kramanti vṛkṣālayān
dhatte cāruṇatām gato rāvir asāv astāśalam cumbati |*

Ibid. (p. 309, v. 68)

*aparāhṇa-śītalatarcṇa śanair
anilena lolita-latāṅgulaye |
nilayāya śākhina ivāhvayate
dadur ākulāḥ khagakulāni giraḥ ||*

Māgha (9, 4)

*vihāya dharanitalam unmucya kamalini-vanāni śakunaya
iva divasāvasāne iapovana-taru-śikhareṣu parvatāgrīṣu
ca ravi-kiraṇah sthitim akurvata |*

Kādambarī (B.S.S. ed., p. 47)

*lokāntaram upagatavaty anurāgaśeṣe jāte tejasām adhiś
... avataratas tridaśavimāna-kiṅkiṇī-kvaṇita iva śrūya-
māne śākhi-śikhara-kulāya-līyamāna-śakuni-kula-kūjite |*

Harśacarita (p. 170)

*śubhetarālāpa-saṁvaraya-pareva vistāritānibaddha-
kolāhalāni śakuni-kulāni taru-kulāya-koṭareṣv asūṣu
(so !) upavana-rājih . . . kramenā cātikrānte
pradoṣa-samaye . . .*

Tilakamañjari (p. 160)

I have no doubt that it is this home-coming of the birds in the evening that is referred to by the above-mentioned RV verses (2, 19, 2; and 2, 34, 5). And similarly, it is my belief that the word *svāsara* denotes 'evening' in verses 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc., where it is mentioned in connection with cows. It is true that (in the language of the poets) the cows return home with milk-oozing udders and low to their calves not only in the

evening, but in the other two *svásara* times also, namely, in the morning and forenoon. But the paucity of references in the later classical literature to the home-coming of the cows in these two *svásara* times, combined with the many references to their home-coming in the evening, makes me think that the RV poets too had this home-coming of the cows at evening in their mind when they used the word *svásara* in connection with cows in 1, 3, 8 ; 2, 2, 2 ; etc.⁷

I shall now show that the above-mentioned meaning, namely, *sandhyā* time or evening, fits into the context and yields good sense in all the passages where the word *svásara* occurs. I begin with

1, 3, 8 : *víśve deváso aptúrah sutám á ganta túrṇayah |*
usrā iva svásarāṇi ||

“O ye All-Gods, come ye here, conquering the waters (in respect of rapid motion), quick, to the Soma juice, as cows in the evening.” *svásarāṇi*=*svasareṣu*. The comparison *usrā iva svásarāṇi* means *yathā usrāh svasareṣu vatsān prati satvaraṁ gacchanti tathā*. This idea of swiftness is expressed, besides, by the epithets *túrṇayah* and *aptúrah*. The *savana* time that is proper to the Viśvedevas is the third or evening *savana*: compare Ch. Up. 2, 24, 1 : *ādityānāṁ ca viśveṣāṁ ca devānāṁ trīyasavānam*; and though this verse is, in the ritual, (Āś. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 10, 5) prescribed for recitation in connection with the Vaiśvadevagraha of the *prāta-savana*, it is not improbable that it was originally recited in connection with the evening *savana* and that the word *svásarāṇi* is to be construed with the verb *āganta* also.

1, 34, 7 : *trír no aśvinā yajatā divé-divé*
pári tridhātu pṛthivíṁ aśāvatam |
tisrō nāsatyā rathyā parāvāta
ātméva vātāḥ svásarāṇi gacchatam ||

⁷ I have, therefore, in what follows, translated *svásara* as ‘evening in these verses. It is, however, open to those who do not share my above-expressed belief to translate the word as ‘*sandhyā* time.’

"Thrice every day, O ye worshipful Aśvins, do ye come to the threefold earth, to us. O ye Aśvins that ride on chariots, ye go (*i.e.*, pass) through the three distant places at the *sandhyā* times (as swiftly) as the swift-moving wind." With regard to the last pāda, compare 1, 79, 1: *vāta iva dhrájimān*; 1, 163, 11: *táva cittám vāta iva dhrájimān*; 10, 95, 2: *durāpānā vāta ivāhám asmi*; 4, 38, 3: *rathatúram vātam iva dhrájantam*; 7, 33, 8: *vātasyeva prajávo nānyéna*; 10, 78, 3: *vātāso ná yé dhúnayo jīgatnávah*, etc., all which contain comparisons referring to the swiftness of the wind.

2, 2, 2 : *abhí tvā náktir uṣásah vavāśiré
'gne vatsám ná svásareṣu dhenávah |
divá ivéd aratír mānuṣā yugā
kṣápo bhāsi puruvāra saṁyátaḥ ||*

"For thee, O Agni, did they low, in the nights and in the mornings, as milch-cows do for their calf in the *sandhyā* times. Being bright, thou shonest, as in day so in the nights, successively, throughout man's life, O thou that hast many desirable things."

It is the opinion of Oldenberg (*RI*. *Noten*, I. 189) that the words *náktih* and *uṣásah* are in the nominative case and should be regarded as the subject of the verb *vavāśire*, the verse being translated as: 'dir haben Nächte und Morgenröten zugebrüllt.' This is the opinion of Bloomfield also (*RV. Repetitions* I, p. 162) who refers to 9, 94, 2 (in which I find nothing bearing on this point) in this connection; and Sāyaṇa too has given this as an alternative explanation.

There is however no verse elsewhere in the *RV* in which the Nights and Dawns are represented as crying after Agni. I prefer therefore to regard *náktih* and *uṣásah* as being in the accusative case and used here in adverbial sense. This is the view of Sāyaṇa also in his first explanation and of Geldner. As subject of the verb *vavāśire* we have to understand either the priests or the

prayers; compare 10, 64, 15: *grávā yátra madhuṣúd ucyáte bṛhád ávīvaśanta matíbhir maniṣināḥ* and 1, 62, 3: *sám usrīyābhir vāvaśanta nárah* where the priests are said to have lowed for the gods and for Indra; and also 8, 44, 25: *ágne dhṛtāvratāya te samudrāyeva síndhavah* | *giro vāśrāsa īrate* and 7, 5, 5: *tvām agne harítō vāvaśānā gírah* sacante *dhūnayo ghṛtācīh* where the prayers (*gírah*) are said to low after Agni and run to him. Compare also 9, 63, 21: *matí vīprāḥ sám asvaran* where the priests are said to cry after Soma with prayers.

2, 19, 2: *asyá mandānó mādhvo vājrahastó
'him índro arṇovytam ví vr̄scat |
prá yád vāyo ná svásarāny ácchā
práyāmisi ca nadīnām cákramanta ||*

“Exhilarated with this sweet juice, Indra, who carries the Vajra in his hand, cut off the dragon who had confined the waters, so that, like birds in the evening, the pleasing (*i.e.*, refreshing) waters of the rivers, too, moved swiftly towards (the sea).”

The reference here is to Indra’s well-known exploit of the liberation of the Waters and Cows after slaying the dragon; and I therefore agree with Sāyaṇa in his opinion that the word *samudram* is to be supplied after *ácchā* in the second half-verse. Compare the next verse: *índro árṇo apām prārayad ahihácchā samudrám*; see also Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 115, who, in his *RV. Uebersetzung*, however, construes *ácchā* with the word *svásarāni* and translates: ‘die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen.’⁸

It is hard to explain why the word *ca* has been used in pāda 4. Its use implies that something else, besides the *práyāmisi*, moved swiftly; and what this something

⁸ He has similarly construed *ácchā* with *svásarāni* in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52 also where he has translated: ‘wie Vögel zur Morgenatzung, (die Fluten) und der Wonnetrank der Flüsse davoneilten,’

else is, it is difficult to determine; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, I, 203. Perhaps it is the *arṇāṁsi*, torrents, referred to by the word *arṇovytam* in pāda b (compare also the words *árno apám* in the next verse). This is the view of Geldner in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52, though in this case, it is difficult to make a distinction between the *arṇāṁsi* and *prayāṁsi*. Or perhaps, it is the cows that Indra sets free with the waters or rivers (compare 1, 32, 12: *ájayo gá ájayah sūra sómam ávāśrjah sártave sáptá sindhūn* and 2, 23, 18: *táva śriyé vy ájihīta párvato gávāṁ gotrám udásrjo yád aṅgirah | indreṇa yujá támásā párvytam bṛhaspate nír apám aubjo arnávám*) and that are likewise mentioned in the next verse: *índro árno apám praírayad ahīhāchā samudrám | ájanayat súryam vidád gá aktúnāhuāṁ vayúnāni sālhat*. Compare also 1, 61, 10: *índrah | gá ná vrāṇā avánir amuñcat* 'Indra set free, like the cows, the rivers that were confined.'

Here too, *svásarāṇi* = *svásarəṣu*. The point of comparison in the simile *váyo ná svásarāṇi* 'like birds in the evening,' is swiftness which, though not mentioned, is to be understood here; compare in this respect the verse 1, 3, 8 (explained above) where too the *sāmānyadharma* is not mentioned.

I have cited above many passages from classical Sanskrit writers which describe the return of birds to their nests in the evening. One only of these, namely, *āvāsotsukapakṣinah kālarutam kramanti vṛkṣālayān . . .* mentions that the birds are 'eager,' *i.e.*, hurrying, to return to their nests: the other passages make no mention of this feature. To compensate for this, there are many RV verses that make no mention of evening-time, but refer, expressly or implicitly, to the swift movement of the birds when returning to their nests. Compare, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citrádhrajatir aratir yó aktór vér ná druṣádvā raghupátmajamhāḥ* 'of wonderful speed, shining at night, with swift-flying wings like a bird

that is going to sit on a tree (*i.e.*, that is going to its nest; compare particularly the words *āvāsa* and *vṛkṣālaya* in the passage *āvāsotsukapakṣīṇaḥ kalarutam . . .* cited above); 1, 25, 4: *páraḥ hi me vīmanyavah pálanti vásya-iṣṭaye | vāyo ná vasatir úpa*, 'like birds to their nests, my prayers fly swifty, seeking good fortune'; 1, 30, 4: *ayám u te sám atasi kapotá ita garbhaváḥim* 'this (Soma juice) is for thee; thou fliest to it as swiftly as a dove does to its nest'; 1, 33, 2: *úpēd aḥám dhanadám ápratītam júṣṭām ná śvenó vasatím patāni* 'I fly swiftly to him, the giver of riches, the irresistible, as the falcon flies to its own dwelling-place'; 1, 183, 1: *tám yuñjāthām mánaso yó jávīyān trivandhuró vṛṣaṇā jás tricakrāḥ | yénopayāthāḥ sukṛto duronáṁ tridhātunā patatho vīr ná párṇaiḥ 'yoke, ye two bulls, that (chariot), which is swifter than thought, has three seats, three wheels and three parts, and on which ye come, ye fly swiftly, to the dwelling of the pious person like a bird that flies with its wings to its dwelling-place'; 10, 115, 3: *tám vīm ná druṣádam . . . māhivratām ná sarájantām ádhvanaḥ 'him (sc. Agni), who moves (as swiftly) as a bird that is going to sit on a tree (*i.e.*, that is going to its nest) . . . raising dust over paths like a mighty person.'9 Compare also 9, 72, 5: *áprāḥ krátūn sám ajair adhvaré matir vīr ná druṣác camvōr áśadād dháriḥ*; 9, 61, 21: *sámmiślo aruṣó bhava sūpasthābhīr ná dhvénubhīḥ | sīdañc chyénó ná yónim ā*; 9, 62, 4: *áśāv yamīśur mādāyāpsú dákṣo giriṣṭhāḥ | śyénó ná yónim áśadat*; 9, 71, 6: *śyénó ná yónim sá lanām dhiyā kṛtām hiraṇyáyām áśadām devā éṣati | é riṇanti barkiṣi priyám girā'śv ná devāná ápy cti yajñīyah*; 9, 82, 1: *áśavi sómo***

⁹ *sarājantam*, I conceive, is the participle of a denominative verb formed from *sarāja* (*sa+raja* which is another form of *rajas*; see PW, s.v., *raja* and *sarāja*) and meaning 'to make dusty; to raise dust.' Regarding the simile *māhivratām ná sarājantam ádhvanaḥ*, cf. 10, 40, 3: *kásya dhvásrā bhavatḥaḥ kásya vā narā rājaputrēvā sávanāvā gacchathāḥ*.

aruśo vṛṣā hārī rājēva dasmō abhī gā acikradat | *puṇānō vāram pāry ety avyāyam śyenō nā yónim gṛtāvantam āsādam*; 9, 86, 35: *īśam ūrjam pāvamānābhy ārṣasi śyenō nā vāṁsu kalāśeṣu sīdasi*; 10, 43, 4: *vāyo nā vṛkṣām supalāśām āsadan sōmāsa īndraṁ mandīnaś camūṣādah* where the idea of swiftness is implied by the comparison with the bird or falcon 'sitting,' i.e., going to sit, in its nest.¹⁰

The comparison *vāyo nā svāsarāṇi* therefore in the above half-verse (*prā yād vāyo nā svāsarāṇy ācchā prāyāmisi ca nadīnāṁ cākramanta*) means 'as swiftly as birds (fly to their dwelling-places) in the evening.' The idea of swiftness is referred to clearly in other passages also that describe the running forth of the Waters or rivers after their liberation by Indra: compare 3, 32, 6: *tvāṁ apō yād dha vṛtrāṁ jaghanvānāt ātyānī iva prāśṛjāḥ sārtavājaū*; 1, 32, 2: *āhann āhīm pārvate śīśriyānām* . . . *vāśrā iva dhenāvāḥ syāndamānāt āñjāḥ samudrām āvā jagmūr āpāḥ*; 1, 130, 5; *tvāṁ vṛthā nadyā īndra sārtavēcchā samudrām asrjo rāthānī iva vājayatō rāthānī iva*; 2, 15, 3: *vājreṇa khāny atrṇan nadīnām* | *vṛthā 'sṛjat pathibhir dīrghayāthaiḥ*; 4, 17, 3: *vādhīd vṛtrāṁ vājreṇa mandasānāḥ sārann āpo jāvasā hatāvṛṣṇīḥ*; 10, 111, 9-10: *sṛjāḥ sīndhūnīr āhinā jaṛasānānāt ād īd etāḥ prā vivijre jāvēna* | *mūmukṣamānāt utā yā mumucré 'dhēd etā nā ramante nītīktāḥ* || *sadhrīcīḥ sīndhum uśatir icāyan*.

2, 34, 5: *īndhanvābhir dhenūbhi rapsādūdhabhir adhvasmābhiḥ pathibhir bhrājadrṣṭayāḥ* |

¹⁰ This idea of swiftness is expressed clearly in other verses and similes; cf., for instance, 9, 62, 8: *sō arṣēndrāya pītāye tirō rōmāny arvāyā* | *sīdan yōnā vāneṣv ā*; 9, 62, 16: *pāvamānāḥ sutō nṛbhiḥ sōmo vājam ivāsarat* | *camūṣu śākmanāsādam*; 9, 62, 19: *āviśān kalāśam sutō vīśvā arṣann abhī śrīyāḥ* | *śūro nā gōṣu tiṣṭhati*; 9, 64, 20: *ā yād yōnīm hiranyāyam āśūr rītāya sīdati* 9, 87, 1: *prā tū drava pāri kōśam nī sīda nṛbhiḥ puṇānō abhī vājam arṣa*.

ā haṁsāśo ná svásarāṇi gantana
mádhor mádāya marutah samanyavah ||

“ With the flaming (?) cows whose udders are full, come, O ye Maruts that are of the same mind, and that have bright spears, by dustless roads for the delight of the sweet (drink), (as swiftly) as swans in the evening.”

The exact meaning of *índhanabhīh*, which occurs in this one passage only, is not known. The sense of *pāda* a too, is somewhat obscure.

svásarāṇi in this verse too is equivalent to *svasareṣu*. The comparison *haṁsāśo ná svásarāṇi* refers, not to the genus bird, like 6, 3, 5 ; 1, 25, 4 ; 1, 183, 1 ; etc., cited above, but to a particular species of birds ; it resembles in this respect the verses 1, 30, 4 : *ayám u te sám atasi kapotá īva garbhadhlím* and 1, 33, 2 : *júṣṭām ná śyenó vasatím patāmi* (also cited above) which likewise refer to particular species of birds. The *sāmānyadharma*, however, is the same, to wit, swiftness, in all these verses.

2, 34, 8 : *yád yuñjáte marúto rukmávakṣasó
'ścān rátheṣu bhága ā sudānavah |
dhenúr ná sísve svásareṣu pīnvate
jánāya rātāhaviṣe mahím iṣam ||*

“ When the liberal Maruts, with ornaments on their breasts, yoke their horses in the chariots for the purpose of blessing, they ooze copious refreshments for him who has offered oblations as the milch-cow (does) to her calf in the evenings.”

3, 60, 6 : *índra ṛbhūmān vājavān matsvehá no
'smín sávane sácyā pūruṣṭuta |
imāni túbhyaṁ svásarāṇi yemire
vratā devānāṁ mānuṣaś ca dhármabhih ||*

“ Indra, delight thou now here ardently with the Ṛbhus and Vāja in this our oblation of the Soma juice, O thou that art much praised. These *savana* times are set apart for thee according to the ordinance of the gods

and the customs of man." Note the juxtaposition of the sentences, *asmín sávane matsvā* and *imāni tūbhyaṁ svásarāni yemire* which too points to the conclusion that *svásara* denotes the time of *savana*.

3, 61, 4 : *áva syúmeva cínvati maghóny
uṣā yāti svásarasya pátnī |
svār jánantī subhágā sudámsā
ántād diváh párathā ā prthivyáh ||*

"Gathering rays, as it were, comes the liberal Dawn, the ruler of *sandhyā*. Bringing out the sun, she who is beautiful and has great might, has spread to the end of heaven and of earth."

The meaning of the expression *áva syúmeva cínvati* is obscure. The epithet *svásarasya pátnī* is appropriate to Uṣas, because she is the deity that presides over the *sandhyā* time.

5, 62, 2 : *tát sú vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvám
irmā tasthúṣir áhabhīr duduḥre |
víśvāh pínvathāh svásarasya dhénā
ánu vām ékah pāvīr ā vavarta ||*

"This, O Mitra and Varuṇa, is your greatness, (namely), that those who are here were milked day by day. You make all the prayers ooze (*i.e.*, yield favourable results) at *sandhyā* time; the felly alone revolved after you."

The signification of *irmā* in pāda b is obscure. Regarding pāda c compare 5, 71, 12 : *víśvasya hí píracctasā
váruṇa mítra rājathāh | iśānā pípyatam dhiyāḥ*; 9, 19, 2 : *yuvám hí sthāḥ svārpatī índraś ca soma gópatī | iśānā
pípyatam dhiyāḥ*; 10, 64, 12 : *tām (dhiyam) pípavata
páyasevā dhenúm*.

6, 68, 10 : *índrāvaruṇā sutapāv imám sutám
sómaṁ píbatam mádyam dhṛtavratā |
yuvó rátho adhvarám devávītaye
píráti svásaram úpa yāti pítāye ||*

“O Indra and Varuṇa who uphold the ordinances, drink, ye Soma-drinkers, this exhilarating Soma-juice that has been pressed. Your chariot comes towards evening to the sacrifice for the meal of the gods, that you may drink.” This verse is one of those that are prescribed to be recited in the course of the third or evening *savana* (see Āś. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 5, 19); and hence it is likely that *svásara* is used here in the sense of ‘evening.’

8, 88, 1: *tám vo dasmám ṛtīśáham*
vásor mandānám ándhasah |
abhí vatsám ná svásareṣu dhenáva
índram gírbhír navāmahe ||

“We cry with our hymns for mighty Indra, the conqueror in battles, who takes delight in the bright food (*i.e.*, the Soma juice), as milch-cows do for their calves in the evenings.”

8, 99, 1: *tvām idā hyó náró 'pi pýan vajrin bhúrṇayah |*
sá indra stóma vāhasām
ihá śrudhy úpa svásaram ā gahi ||

“The zealous men (*i.e.*, the priests), O Vajra-bearer, have made thee drink now and yesterday. Hear now, O Indra, the (priests) who bring forward (thy) praises ; come towards the evening.”

9, 94, 2: *dvitā vyūrváam amṛtasya dháma*
svarvíde bhúvanāni prathanta |
dhíyah pīvānāḥ svásare ná gáva
ṛtāyántir abhí vācaśra índum ||

“Opening again widely the abode of immortality, they spread the worlds for the finding of the sun. Oozing milk like cows in the evenings, the holy hymns lowed for Soma.”

AV. 7, 23, 2: *bradhnáḥ samicir uṣásah sám airayan |*
arepásah sáce tasah
svásare manyumáttamāś cité góḥ ||

The import of this verse is obscure. I translate, following Whitney: "The bright one, sending out in *sandhyā* time the beautiful dawns, faultless, like-minded, most furious, in the gathering of the cow."

Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 20: *ādityebhyah . . . maha svasarasya patibhyah* |

"For the Ādityas who are the lords (i.e., presiding deities) of the advanced (i.e., the latest or third) *sandhyā* time." *maha svasarasya* means the 'advanced *svasara*' or 'third *svasara*'; compare the similar use of *mahā*- in *mahārātra*. With regard to the third *savana*, compare Ch. Up. 2, 34, 1: *ādityānām ca viśveśām ca devānām trtīyasavanam* (cited above), according to which this *savana* belongs to the Ādityas and Viśvedevas; compare also Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 1: *ādityānām trtīya-savanam*. The Ādityas are therefore here represented as presiding over the third *savana*, that is, over the third *svasara*.

§ 6

aratí

The word *aratí* which I have above (p. 92) interpreted as 'bright' occurs in about thirty RV verses and has been differently explained by exegetists. Sāyaṇa has explained it variously as *svāmin* or *iśvara* (1, 59, 2; 1, 128, 6; 1, 128, 8; 2, 4, 2; 2, 2, 3; 6, 15, 4; 7, 10, 3; etc.); *vyāpta*, *vistrta* (2, 2, 2; 2, 2, 3); *prāpāyitṛ* (1, 58, 7); *ganṭṛ* or *abhigantṛ* (6, 3, 5; 6, 7, 1; etc.) and *apṛiti* or *aramanya* (3, 17, 4; 4, 38, 4). Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara have interpreted the word as *alamati*, *paryāptamati* in VS. 7, 24 and 15, 32; and the latter has besides suggested the meanings *pūrakam*, *ratir uparatis tadrāhitam* and *ratir uparamas tadrāhitam*, *sadodyamayutam ity arthah* for the word *aratim*. Simi-

larly, Bhaṭṭabhāskara too has paraphrased *arati* by *uparatirahita* in his commentary on Tait. Br. 2, 5, 4, 4, as does also Sāyaṇa in *ibid.*, 2, 8, 2, 4.

Roth (in PW) has interpreted the word as *Diener*, *Gehülfe*, *Verwalter*, *Ordner*, *administer* while Grassmann, differing from him, has said that the word means 'der das Opfer zurichtet, zu Stande bringt.' Oldenberg, in SBE, 45, has explained the word as 'steward.' Bergaigne (*Quarante Hymns, V*) translates it as 'ministre' and Ludwig and Griffiths as 'messenger.' Geldner, in his *Glossar* gives the meaning 'Herr' (which Hillebrandt also approves of; *Lieder des RV*, p. 22), but in his *Übersetzung*, has translated the word as 'Lenker,' and 'Rosselenker.' He has also added the following explanatory note (p. 68): "Agni ist der *aratí* der Götter (2, 4, 2), von Himmel und Erde (1, 59, 2 ; 2, 2, 3 ; 6, 49, 2 ; 10, 3, 7), des himmels (2, 2, 2 ; 10, 3, 2), der Erde (6, 7, 1). In Verbindung mit den Vasu's auch 10, 3, 2; *arati* ursprünglich wohl der Rosse- und Wagenlenker (der 'hyppelata') und dann der Lenker überhaupt. Für die Bedeutung 'Rosselenker' spricht bes. 4, 38, 4 ; 8, 19, 1 (*deváśo devám aratíṁ dadhanvire*) und 2, 4, 2 (*aratír jirásvah*). Als Bezeichnung des Agni verbindet sich *ar.* gern mit *dūtá* und *havyaváh* (3, 17, 4 ; 6, 15, 4 ; 7, 10, 3 ; 8, 19, 21 ; 10, 46, 4)."

None of these interpretations fits into the context in, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citrádhirajatir aratír yó aktór zér ná druśádvā raghupátmajamhāḥ*; and hence it is my belief that none of them is correct.

The terms *īśvara* (Herr), *vyāpti*, *gantī*, *gopāḥ*, etc., refer to characteristics that are common to almost all RV deities and can be used as epithets of all such deities, while in fact, the word *aratí* is used of Agni only. This in itself is enough to raise doubts in my mind as to whether *aratí* means *īśvara*, (Herr), *vyāpti*, or *gantī*, etc. On the other hand, I believe that the correct signification of the

word *arati* is, in all probability, one that has specific reference to Agni, that in fact, *arati* means 'he who shines; the bright one; *śukra*; *pāvaka*.' I give here below the reasons for such belief.

I. The verse 10, 45, 7 : *uśik pāvakō aratih sumedhā márteṣv agnir amṛto nī dhāyi* is in most respects parallel to the verse 1, 60, 4; *uśik pāvakō vāsur mānuṣāṇāṁ vāreṇyo hótā dhāyi vikṣu*; and it seems therefore (since *aratih* cannot mean *vāreṇyah*¹ and *sumedhāḥ* cannot mean *vāsuh*) that *aratih* is equivalent to *vāsuh* or bright.

II. Again, five out of the thirty passages in which the word *arati* occurs, namely 1, 59, 2 (*aratī rōdasyoh*); 2, 2, 3 (*divás pṛthivyór aratim ny èrīre*); 6, 49, 2 (*ádrptakratum aratim yuvatyoh*); 7, 5, 1 (*divó aratāye pṛthivyāḥ*); and 10, 3, 7 (*divás-pṛthivyór aratir yuvatyoh*) say that Agni is the *arati* of Heaven and Earth. Now what exactly is the relation between Agni on the one hand, and Heaven and Earth on the other, that is referred to by the word *arati* in these passages? An examination of the RV hymns addressed to Agni discloses that the following relations are mentioned therein:

1. Agni is the generator of Heaven and Earth (1, 96, 4: *viśāṁ gopā janitā rōdasyoh*).
2. He is the son of Heaven and Earth (3, 3, 2: *sá mātrór abhavat putrā idyah*; cf. also 10, 1, 7; 10, 140, 2).
3. He 'glorified' his parents, Heaven and Earth, when he was born (3, 3, 11: *ubhā pītārā maháyann ajāyatāgnir dyāvāpṛthivī*).
4. He 'renovated' his parents (*mātarā*), i.e., Heaven and Earth, again and again (3, 5, 7: *pūnah-punar mātarā nāvyaśi kah*).

¹This becomes clear from the context of the other verses where the word *arati* occurs, and where the meaning *vāreṇyah* does not give good sense.

5. He 'saw' Heaven and Earth (3, 26, 8 : *ād id dyāvāprthivī páry aphaśyat*).
6. He follows, *i.e.*, is like to, Heaven and Earth in point of *prkṣa* or strength (2, 1, 15 : *prkṣó yád átra mahinā ví te bhúvad ánu dyāvāprthivī ródasī ubhé*).
7. He supported Heaven and Earth (6, 8, 3 : *tv y ástabhnād ródasī mitró ádbhutah*.)
8. He is prayed to make Heaven and Earth well-inclined (2, 2, 7 : *práti dyāvāprthivī bráhmañā kṛdhi*).
9. He moves in Heaven and Earth as *dūta* 3, 3, 2,) ; *antár dūtō ródasī dasmá iyate* ; cp. also 4, 7, 8 ; 7, 2, 3).
10. He enters into Heaven and Earth (10, 80, 2 : *agnír mahí ródasī á viveśa* ; see also 3, 3, 4 ; 3, 7, 4 ; 3, 61, 7) or moves in them (10, 80, 1 : *agní ródasī ví carat smamañján*), adorning them.
11. He extends Heaven and Earth with his light (6, 1, 11 : *á jás tatántha ródasī ví bhasā* ; see also 10, 1, 7 ; 5, 1, 7 ; 6, 4, 6 ; 7, 5, 4 ; 10, 88, 3).
12. He brings Heaven and Earth to the sacrifice and offers oblations to them (6, 16, 24 : *váso yakṣihá ródasī* and 3, 7, 9 : *mahó devān ródasī éhá vakṣi* ; see also 6, 12, 1 ; 6, 11, 4 ; 6, 15, 15 ; 3, 15, 5 ; 10, 11, 9) ; he offers oblations to them as hotṛ (3, 17, 2 : *yáthā 'yajo hotrám agne prthivyā yáthā divó jālatveduś cikitvān ! evánena havisā yakṣi devān*) or invokes them as hotṛ (7, 7, 3 : *hótā | á mātárā viśvávāre huvānáh*).
13. He fills Heaven and Earth with light (6, 48, 6 ; *á yáh paprau bhānūnā ródasī ubhé* ; see also

1, 69, 1 ; 1, 73, 8 ; 3, 2, 7 ; 3, 3, 10 ; 3, 6, 2 ; 7, 13, 2 ; 10, 140, 2).

14. He surpasses Heaven and Earth in greatness (3, 6, 2 ; *ródasī . . utá prá rikthā ádha nū prayajyo*).
15. He rolls up Heaven and Earth like two skins (6, 8, 3 : *ví cármaṇīva dhisáne avartayat*).
16. He roars at Heaven and Earth (10, 8, 1 : *á ródasī vrṣabhó roravīti*).
17. He gladdens Heaven and Earth with his friendship (10, 88, 2 : *tásya devāḥ pṛthivī dyaúr utāpó 'raṇayann óṣadhiḥ sakhyé asya*).
18. He is known to Heaven and Earth (10, 88, 8 : *tám dyaúr veda tám pṛthivī tám āpah*).
19. He sits in the lap of Heaven and Earth (7, 6, 6 : *vaiśvānaró várām á ródasyor ágnih sasāda pitrór upásthām*).
20. He is the ruler of Heaven and Earth (7, 6, 2 ; *hinvánti sám rājyám ródasyoh*).
21. He shines upon or illumines Heaven and Earth (3, 15, 3 : *agnír dyávāpṛthivī viśvajanyé á bhāti devī amṛte ámūrah* ; see also 1, 143, 2 ; 3, 2, 2 ; 1, 96, 5 ; 2, 2, 5 ; 10, 45, 4 ; 7, 12, 1 ; 6, 3, 7).

The word *aratí*, in all probability, refers to one of these twenty-one kinds of relations, and that being so, it becomes obvious that the first-mentioned twenty cannot be denoted by it (for none of these fits into the context in the other passages where the word *aratí* occurs), and that it can refer to the twenty-first only.

aratí thus means 'one who shines or illumines, bright, brilliant, radiant.' It is therefore derived from the same root *r* or *ar* 'to shine' (and not from *r* or *ar* 'to go' as Sāyaṇa has suggested) as the words *aruná* and *arusá* and is practically synonymous with these two words and also with *pāvaká*, *śukrā*, *śúci*, *vibhāvan*,

rukma, etc., all which words mean ‘bright, resplendent, radiant,’ and are, like the word *aratí*, used most often as epithets of Agni or Sūrya.

I shall now show that this meaning ‘bright, brilliant, radiant’ suits the context in all the verses in which *aratí* occurs. Of these 2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā nāktir usáso vavāsiré 'gne vatsáni ná svásareṣu dhenávah | divá itéd aratír mānuṣā yugā kṣápo bhāsi puruṣāra saṃyátaḥ* has already been explained above (p. 92).

1, 59, 2: *mūrdhā divó nābhīr agníh pṛthivyā
áthābhāvad aratí ródasyoh |
tám tvā devāśo 'janayanta devám
vaiśvānara jyótir id āryāya ||*

“ The head of Heaven and the navel of Earth, Agni became the illuminator of (i.e., shone upon) Heaven and Earth. The gods have engendered thee, the god, as light for the Ārya, O Vaiśvānara.”

Regarding the expression *aratí ródasyoh*, compare 1, 143, 2: *prá dyāvā sōcīh pṛthivi arocayat*; 10, 45, 4: *ā ródasī bhānūnā bhāty antāḥ*; 1, 96, 5: *dyāvā kṣāmā rukmó antár vī bhāti* and other similar verses in which Agni is said to have illuminated Heaven and Earth with his light.

2, 2, 3: *tám devā budhné rájasah sudámsasam
divás pṛthivyór aratím ny èrire |
rátham ita vedyam śukrásociṣam
agním mutrám ná kṣitiṣu pṛasámsyam ||*

“ The gods set up at the bottom of space (i.e., on the earth) him, Agni, with bright light, who illuminates (i.e., shines upon) Heaven and Earth, who wins (the prize) like a chariot, who is, like a friend, worthy of being praised.”

6, 7, 1: *mūrdhānam divó aratím pṛthivyā
vaiśvānarám rtá ā jātám agním |
kavím samrājám átithin jánānām
asánn ā pātrām janayanta devāḥ ||*

“The gods have engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, born in ṛta, the head of Heaven, the illuminator of Earth, wise, sovereign, the guest of men, the drinking-vessel (of the gods).”

Regarding the expression *āsán pātrām* in d, compare the nivid (T.B. 3, 5, 3, 1) *āśpātrām juhūr devānām | camasó devapānāḥ* addressed to Agni.

6, 49, 2 : *viśo-viśa īdyam adhvareśv
ādṛptakratum aratīm yucatjyōḥ |
divāḥ sīśum sāhasaḥ sūnūm agnīm
yajñasya ketūm aruśām yájadhyai ||*

“Offer worship to Agni, who is worthy of adoration by all peoples in sacrifices, who is not proud of his insight, who is the illuminator of the two youthful women (i.e., of Heaven and Earth), the child of Heaven, the son of strength, the beacon of the sacrifice, bright.”

7, 5, 1 : *prāgnāyc tāvāsc bharadhvajī
gīram divō aratāyc prthivyāḥ |
yō viśveśām amṛtānām upāsthe
vaiśvānarō vācṛdhē jāgṛvādbhiḥ ||*

“Proffer the hymn to the strong Agni, illuminator of Heaven and Earth, who, (as) Vaiśvānara, was magnified in the lap of all the immortals by the watchful (priests).”

10, 3, 7 : *sá ā vakṣi máhi na ā ca satsi
divāśprthivyōr aratīr yucatjyōḥ |
agnīḥ sutūkahī sutūkebhīr ásvai
ráhōhasvadbhī rábhastvān éhā gāmyāḥ ||*

“The illuminator of the two youthful women, (namely) Heaven and Earth, thou carriest much to us and sittest (on our barhis). May the swift impetuous Agni come here with swift impetuous horses.”

1, 58, 7 : *hótāraṁ saptā juhvō yájishthām
yām vāghātō vṛṇātē adhvareśu |
agnīm viśveśām aratīm vásūnām
saparyāmi práyasā yāmi rátnam ||*

“I worship with good cheer, and pray for wealth (to), Agni brilliant amongst the Vasus, the hotṛ who sacrifices best with seven ladles (or, tongues), whom the priests choose in the rites (as hotṛ).”

The construction of *juhvō* in pāda a is not clear. Oldenberg (*SBE*. 46, p. 46) regards *saptā juhvāḥ* as nominative plural and as the subject of *vṛṇāte* in pāda b, and translates ‘whom the seven ladles (of the priests), the worshippers choose as the hotṛ’; see also his *RV. Noten* (I, p. 58). So does Geldner also in his *RV. Ueber*. On the other hand, Pischel, in *Ved. Stud.* 2, 113, has compared with pādas ab here 10, 6, 4: *mandrō hótā sá juhvā yájiṣṭhāḥ* and says, ‘Der Accusativ *saptā juhvāḥ* hängt ab von *yájiṣṭham* (Gaedicke, Accusativ im Veda p. 185)’, with which opinion I am inclined to agree. Compare also in this connection 4, 7, 5: *tám īm hótāram ānuśák cikitvāṁśam ní sedire | rāṇvāṁ pāvakásociṣam yájiṣṭham saptā dhāmabhiḥ* whose pādas cd convey the same meaning as the expressions *aratīm vásūnām* and *juhvō yájiṣṭham* in pādas ac above.

10, 3, 2: *kṛṣṇām yád éním abhí várpaśā bhūj
janáyan yósām brhatáh pítúr jām |
ūrdhvām bhānūm sūryasya stabhāyán
divó vásubhir aratír ví bhāti ||*

“When he surpassed with his splendour the Dark and the White, bringing forth the woman born of the great father and holding firm the ray, raised high, of the sun, the brilliant one (sc. Agni) shines with the bright ones of Heaven.” The import of this verse is obscure. According to Sāyaṇa, the Dark one is the Night, the great father, the sun, and the woman born of him, Uṣas.

7, 10, 3: *ácchā gíro matáyo devayántir
agním yanti dráviṇam bhíkṣamāṇāḥ |
susamdýśam suprátikam sváñcam
háryaváham aratím mānuṣāṇam ||*

“The hymns and thoughts, pious, go begging for wealth to Agni, handsome, of beautiful countenance, swift carrier of offerings, who shines on men.”

1, 128, 8 : *agním hótāram īlate vásudhilitiṁ*
priyám cétis̄ham aratíṁ ny èrīre
havyaváham ny èrīre |
viśváyum viśvávedasam̄
hótāram yajatám kavíṁ |
deváso rāyám ávase vasúyávo
gīrbhí rāyám vasúyávah ||

“Agni, the hotṛ, the storehouse of wealth, do they magnify; him who is dear, preeminent and brilliant, did they set up; the carrier of offerings, the hotṛ, worshipful, wise, vivifier of all and possessor of all wealth, joy-bringing, did the gods wishing for wealth, set up, for protection; wishing for wealth, with hymns, (did they set up) the joy-bringing (Agni).”

7, 16, 1 : *enā vo agním náma-*
sorjó nápātam ā huve |
priyám cétis̄ham aratíṁ svad̄kvarám
viśvasya dítám amýtam ||

“With this adoration (i.e., hymn) do I invoke Agni the son of strength, dear, pre-eminent immortal, the messenger of all, the accomplisher of sacrifices.”

1, 128, 6 : *viśvo vihāyā aratír vásur dadhe*
háste dákṣine tarámir ná sīsrathac
chravasyáyā ná sīsrathat |
viśvasmā id iṣudhyaté
devatrā havyám óhiṣe |
viśvasmā út sukýte vāram ynvatv
agnír dvārā vy ḷṇvati ||

“All grown out, the brilliant swift-moving one held wealth in his right hand, not letting it loose; desirous of glory, he has not let loose. For every one who desires it, thou carriest the offerings to the gods. For every righteous one, he procures his wish, (for him) Agni opens wide both folds of the door.”

The meaning of *vihāyāḥ* in pāda a is not certain; Geldner, whom I have followed, translates it (*RV. Ueber.* p. 162) as 'ausgewachsen,' Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, p. 138) as 'far-reaching,' while Sāyaṇa, following the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* (3. 3) has explained it as *mahān*.

In pāda a, *vásur* in *vásur dadhe* seems clearly to be in the nominative case and in coordination with *aratīḥ*; and Geldner has accordingly translated (l.c.) pādas ab as 'Ganz ausgewachsen (wird er) der Wagenlenker, hält der Gott (die Güter) in seiner rechten Hand,' observing that, before *dadhe* the word *vásu* is to be supplied as shown by 9, 18, 4 and that this is an instance of haplology. On the other hand, Oldenberg (op. cit. p. 140), referring to the same 9, 18, 4 (ā yó vīśvāni vāryā vásūm hāstayor *dadhe*) proposes to read pāda a as *vīśvā vihāyā aratīr vásu dadhe*. Now I agree with Oldenberg that the word *vásur* should not be looked upon as a nominative and as an epithet of Agni, but that it denotes 'wealth'; but I am opposed to any emendation of the text. Compare in this connection 1, 110, 7: *ybhūr ná īndraḥ sávasā návīyān ybhūr vājebhir vásubhir vásur dadīḥ*; 8, 24, 3: *sá na stāvāna ā bhara rayīm citrásra-vastamam | nireké cid yó harivo vásur dadīḥ*; 8, 46, 15: *dadī rékṣas tanvē dadīr vásu dadīr vājeṣu puruhūta vājīnam*; 8, 21, 17: *īndro vā ghéd īyan maghám sárasvatī vā subbhágā dadīr vásu*; and 4, 24, 1: *kā suṣṭutīḥ sávasaḥ sūnúm īndram arvācīnám rádhasa ā vāvartat | dadīr hí vīro gṛṇaté vásūni* where the expression *vásur dadīḥ* in the first two verses seems plainly to be equivalent to the expression *dadīr vásu* in the third and fourth and to *dadīr vásūni* in the fifth.

I conceive that *vásur* is similarly equivalent to *vásu* (*vásūni*) in pāda a also above² and that *vásur dadhe=dadhe*

² I am likewise inclined to think that in 10, 53, 3: *sá āyur āgāt swabhir vásānah*, the word *surabhir* is equivalent to *surabhīm*; compare 6, 29, 3; *vásāno ātkam surabhīm drsē kám*.

vásuṇi. Regarding *víśvah*, compare 4, 1, 1: *víśvam ādevam janata práctasam* where too *víśva* is used as an epithet of Agni.

2, 4, 2: *imám vidhánto apám sadhásthe
dvitá dadhur bhṛgavo vikṣv àyóḥ |
eṣá víśvāny abhy àstu bhūmā
devánām agnír aratír jírásval ||*

“Worshipping him in the abode of the waters, the Bhṛgus have again established him among the clans of Āyu. May he surpass all worlds, Agni, who shines on the gods, who has swift horses.” With regard to *devánām aratih* in pāda d, compare 8, 60, 15: *ād id devéṣu rājasī* addressed to Agni.

3, 17, 4: *agním suditím sudyśam grṇánto
namasyāmas tvédyam jātavedah |
tvām dūtám aratím havyavāham
devā akṛivann amṛtasya nābhim ||*

“Praising Agni, handsome, of fine splendour, we adore, O Jātavedas, thee that deservest to be magnified. Thee that art brilliant, the gods have made the messenger, the carrier of offerings, the navel of immortality.”

4, 1, 1: *tvām hy àgne sádam it samanyávo
deváso devám aratím ny èrirá
iti krátvā nyeriré |
ámartyam yajata mártyeṣv á
devám ādevam janata práctasam
víśvam ādevam janata práctasam ||*

“O Agni, thee indeed, the brilliant God, have the gods with one mind set up; they have set (thee) up with this aim: ‘adore the immortal among the mortals; engender the wise god who is godly, engender the wholly wise one who is godly.’ ”

4, 2, 1: *yó mártyeṣv amṛta rtávā
devó devéṣv aratír nidháyī |
hótā yájiṣṭho mahná śucádhya
havyaír agnír mánuṣa irayádhya ||*

"The brilliant god, pious, immortal, who was established as the best-sacrificing hotṛ among gods and mortals, may he shine greatly; may (he) Agni go (unto the gods) with the offerings of men." I construe *mártyeṣu*, *devēṣu* and *hótā yájiṣṭhah* together in the relative clause; compare 6, 1, 13: *agnír hótā gṛhápatih sá rājā vīśvā veda jánimā jätávedāḥ* | *devánām utá yó mártyanām yájiṣṭhah* where Agni is said to be the best-sacrificing (priest) among gods and mortals, and 4, 7, 1: *ayám ihá prathamó dhāyi dhātýbhīr hótā yájiṣṭhah* and other similar verses in which it is said that Agni was established as the 'best-sacrificing hotṛ.' It is my belief that these two ideas have been combined together by the poet in the relative clause of the above verse.

4, 38, 4: *yáḥ smārundhānó gádhyā samátsu
sánutaraś cárati góṣu gácchan |
āvīrrjīko vidáthā nicíkyat
tiró aratím páry āpa āyóḥ ||*

The words *gádhyā*, *sánutaraḥ*, and *ījika* and the expression *vidáthā nicíkyat* are obscure, and it is hence difficult to make out the import of this verse which describes the running of the horse Dadhikrā. I translate mechanically: "Who, seizing great (booty) in battles, moves as the better winner (of the prize) when he goes towards the cows, with his good points apparent, understanding assemblies, surpassing the brilliant one (Agni ?), more than Āyu was able to obtain".

5. 2, 1: *kumārám mātā yuvatíh sámubdham
gúhā bibharti ná dadāti pitré |
ánikam asya ná mináj jánasah
puráḥ paśyanti níhitam arataú ||*

The import of this verse, as also of several other verses of this hymn, is obscure; see SBE. 46, p. 368 and *RV. Noten* I, 312. I translate tentatively:

"The young mother carries hidden the bound son; she does not give him to the father. The people see his

not changing countenance (?) before them, placed in the radiant (fire) ”.

6, 3, 5 : *sá id ásteva práti dhād asis̄yāñ
chis̄ita téjó 'yaso ná dhārām |
citrádhrajatir aratír yó aktór
vér ná druṣádvā raghupátmajam̄hāḥ ||*

“ He [Agni] has made himself ready like a shooter going to shoot and sharpened his flames like the edge of iron, (he) of marvellous speed, who shines at night and who speeds swiftly like a bird going to sit on a tree (i.e., going to its nest). ”

6, 12, 3 : *téjish̄ā yásyāratír vanerāt
todó ádhvan ná vydhasāi:ó adyaut |
adroghó ná dravítā cetati tmánn
ániar̄yo 'vartrá óṣadhiṣu ||*

“ The bright one, ruling over the forest, whose (splendour) is most brilliant, shone with increasing brightness like the sun in his path ; beneficent, immortal, unchecked by plants he shows himself preeminent like a swift horse ”.

The construction of the words *téjish̄ā yásyāratír vanerāt* in pāda a is difficult. Ludwig has suggested that the proper reading here is *amatir*, not *aratír*, and Grassmann, that one should read *tejish̄ayā yah* instead of *tejish̄ā yasya*, a suggestion that Oldenberg thinks (*RV. Noten*) is perhaps correct. Oldenberg has besides observed (l. c.) that 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 point to the reading *arāni* instead of *arati*, and also that it is possible to construe the passage without emendation as ‘ dessen (Glut) die schärfste ist, der *arati*,’ though such interpretation is very artificial. He therefore proposes to interpret the passage as ‘ he whose *arati* is most sharp ’ without however saying what the meaning of *arati* is.

Now the verses 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 referred to in this connection by Oldenberg are obscure and it is difficult to find out what these verses themselves mean.

And, moreover, in the verse 10, 61, 20: *ádhāsu mandró aratír vibháváva syati dvivartanír vaneśāt*, the word *vaneśāt* ‘victorious in the forest,’ which is almost synonymous with the word *vaneśāt* (‘ruling over the forest’) here, is clearly coordinate with *aratih* and *vibhává* which makes it probable that the word *vaneśāt* too here is coordinate with *aratih* and refers to Agni. I therefore supply here the word *ruc*³ (fem. ;=bhānu, splendour) after *tejishthā* on the analogy of 10, 3, 5: *téjishthaih kriṇumádbhir várśiṣṭhebhīr bhānūbhīh* and translate, ‘whose (splendour) is most brilliant, the bright one, ruling over the forest, . . .’

In pāda c, I regard *ná dravitā* only as forming the upamāna and look upon *adrogha* (==not injuring; i.e., favourable, beneficent) as an epithet of Agni who is the deity of this verse. Compare the epithet *adrúh* that is applied to Agni in 6, 15, 7: *vípram hótaram puruváram adrúham kavím sumnaír imáhe jätávedasam*; 6, 5, 1: *huvé vah sūnúm sáhaso yúvānam ádroghavācam matibhir yáviṣṭham* | *yá invati dráviṇāni práctetá viṣvávārāni puruváro adhrík* and other verses.

dravitā, runner, seems to denote race-horse; compare the word *atyā*. Regarding the expression *ná dravitā . . . avartrá óṣadhiṣu*, compare 6, 3, 4: *dravir ná drāvayasi*⁴ *dāru dhákṣat* ‘Consuming the wood, thou runnest like a courser’ addressed to Agni. Regarding also the sentence *ná dravitā cītati tmán*, compare 10, 176, 3: *rátho ná yór abhīvṛto ghṛṇivān cītati tmánā* that is likewise addressed to Agni.

6, 15, 4: *dyutánám vo átithim svárvaram
agním hótaram mánusah svadhwaram* |

³ Or, if the suggestion of Oldenberg (l. c. footnote) about reading *tejishthā* be correct, one can supply the word *bhānavah*. Sāyaṇa, it may be noted, interprets *aratih* here as *jvālā* and construes it with *tejishthā*.

⁴ *drāvayasi*=*dravasi* here, in the same way as *drāvayitnávah* (in 9, 69, 6: *súryasyeva rāsmáyo dīvayitnávah*)=*dravitnávah*.

*vípram ná dyukṣávacasam̄ suvṛktibhir
havyatāham aratim̄ devam̄ rñjasc ||*

“I adorn with well-cut (i.e., well-fashioned) hymns your shining guest, the heaven-man, Agni, hotr of men, accomplisher of sacrifices, whose speech like that of an inspired seer is bright, the carrier of offerings, the brilliant god”. Regarding the expression *suvṛktibhir rñjasc*, compare Geldner in *Ved. St.* 3, p. 32f.

6, 67, 8 : *tā jihvāyā sādam édām̄ sumedhā
ā yād vām̄ satyō aratir̄ rté bhūt |
tād vām̄ mahitvām̄ ghrtānnāv astu
yuvām̄ dāśuṣe vī cayiṣṭam̄ ám̄hah ||*

The import of pādas ab is obscure. I translate, following Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* I, 413); “The wise one [sc. Agni] (brings) here the two (sc. Mitra and Varuṇa) at all times (and offers food) with his tongue, when (he), the powerful brilliant one, is present at the sacrifice offered to you two. May that be your greatness, O ye two whose food is ghee; you remove distress from the offerer (of sacrifices)”. Compare with this stanza 3, 57, 5 : *yā te jihvā mādhumatī sumedhā ágne devéshūcyāta urucī | tāyehā vīsvān̄ ávase yájatrān̄ á sādaya pāyúyā cā mādhūni ||*.

8, 19, 1 : *tām̄ gārdhayā svārṇaram̄
devāso devam̄ aratim̄ dadhanvire |
devatrā havyām̄ óhire ||*

“Praise him, the heaven-man. The gods have run to the brilliant god and made him carry offerings to the gods.” I regard *óhire* in pāda c as being used with the causative sense with the signification ‘made him carry’.

8, 19, 21 : *íle girā mānurhitam̄
yām̄ devā dūtām̄ aratim̄ nyeriré |
yájishthām̄ havyatāhanam̄ ||*

“I magnify with hymn (Agni) the benefactor of men, whom, brilliant, best officiating in sacrifices, the gods set up as messenger and carrier of offerings”.

10, 3, 1 : *inó rājann aratih sāmīddho
raúdro dákṣāya suṣumāñ adarśi |
cikid vī bhāti bhāsā bṛhatā
'siknīm eti rūśatīm apājan ||*

“O king, the chief, radiant, Rudra-like, . . . for skill, being kindled, has been seen. The wise one shines with great splendour, going to the dark one and driving away the bright one”. The word *suṣumāñ* in pāda b which I have left untranslated, is obscure; see Oldenberg’s *RV. Noten* II, 200 where several conjectural explanations are given of it. We do not know to whom the vocative *rājan* in pāda a and the words *ásiknī* and *rūśatī* in pāda d refer; but it is possible that the latter two words refer to Night and Dawn.

10, 3, 6 : *asyá sūṣmāso dadṛṣānāpaver
jéhamānasya svanayan niyúdbhiḥ |
pratnēbhir yó rūśadbhir devátamo
vī rébhadbhir aratīr bhāti vībhvā ||*

“Who, bright, brilliant, most godlike, shines with (his) old gleaming, singing (flames),—the powers of him whose belly is visible, who presses swiftly forwards, rushed onward with teams”.

10, 45, 7 : *uśik pāvakó aratih sumedhā
márteṣv agnīr amṛto ní dhāyi |
íyarti dhūmām aruśām bháribhīrad
úc chukréṇa sōciṣā dyām ínakṣan ||*

“The immortal Agni, loving, bright, brilliant, wise, has been established among men. Reaching the sky with bright flame he raises up, carrying, the bright smoke”.

10, 46, 4 : *mandrām hótāram uśijo námobhiḥ
prāñcam yajñām netāram adhvarāñām |
viśām akṛṇvann aratīm pāvakām
havyavāhaṁ dādhato mānuṣeṣu ||*

“Him, bright and radiant, who leads sacrifices rightly, the ruler of sacrifices, the Uśijs, with obeisances, made the dear hotṛ of the clans, establishing him as the carrier of sacrificial offerings among men”.

Āśv. ŠS. 4, 7, 4 : *samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇā 'ratir divas
taplo gharma duhyate vām iṣe madhu |
vayam hi vām purutamāso aśvinā
havāmahe sadhamādeṣu kāravah ||*

“Kindled, O ye two bulls, is Agni the illuminator of Heaven ; the gharma is heated ; honey is milked for your food. O ye Aśvins, we singers, most busy, invoke you in these occasions of rejoicing together”.

This verse occurs in AV (7, 73, 1), with the readings *rathī divāḥ* and *purudámāso* in a and c, and in Śāṅkh. ŠS. (5, 10, 8) with the reading *rayir divāḥ* in a. It is the opinion of Whitney (*AV. Trans.* p. 437) that the reading of Āśv. ŠS. is *ratir divāḥ* and that this, as also the reading of Śāṅkh. ŠS., are corruptions of the AV reading which is correct.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable. The reading *vṛṣaṇāratir divāḥ* is found in AB. 1, 22, 2 also ; and the occurrence of the expressions *divó aratīḥ*, *ródasyor aratīḥ* and *divásprthivyór aratīḥ* in RV. 7, 5, 1 and other verses explained above shows that one should read *aratir divāḥ* in this AB passage also, and that this is the original reading. *rathī divāḥ* and *rayir divāḥ* in AV and Śāṅkh. ŠS. are therefore without doubt corruptions of the reading *aratir divāḥ*.

The word *aratīḥ* occurs, further, in RV. 10, 61, 20 which will be explained in the next article.

§ 7

dán

This word *dán*, about whose interpretation there has been much dispute, occurs in but seven verses of the RV. In six of them it is found at the end of the pāda, preceded by the word *pátiḥ* in four (1, 149, 1 ; 153, 4 ; 10, 99, 6 ; 105, 2), and by *patī* and *síśuh* in one each (1, 120, 6 ; 10, 61, 20) ; in the remaining verse (10, 115, 2), it occurs within the pāda.

Sāyaṇa explains the word as *śatrūn damayati* in one verse, *damayan* in another and as *ādadānah*, *dadad abhimataṁ prayacchan*, *dātā*, *dhanāni prayacchan* and *yastṛṇām dhanadātā* in the others. According to him, therefore, there are two words having the form *dán*, one derived from the root *dam* and the other from the root *dā*.¹

Similarly, Roth too (in the PW) believes that there are three words of that form: *dán* in 10, 61, 20 is, according to him, a verbal form of the root *dan*, in 10, 115, 2, a shortened form of *danta*, tooth, and in the other five verses, the genitive of *dám*, house. In the latter opinion, he is followed by Bartholomae (Ar. For. 1. 70 ff.), Grassmann, and Brugmann (Grundriss 1 § 108, 204, 672).²

Pischel criticised this opinion in *Ved. St.* 2, 93 ff., pointing out that in 1, 120, 6 and 10, 105, 2 addressed respectively to the Aśvins and Indra, the interpretation of *dán* as 'of the house' hardly fits, since these deities are nowhere in the RV described as 'masters of the house (*gr̥hapati*)'. He therefore opined that *dán* denotes 'richtend, bemeisternd' in 10, 105, 2; 99, 6; and 'Ausrichter (des Opfers)' in 10, 115, 2; 1, 153, 4; 149, 1. In 1, 120, 6, *dán* is, according to him, a verbal form meaning 'herrichtet,' and in 10, 61, 2, too, a verbal form meaning 'ausgerichtet' and having as its subject *śisuh* which is slang for 'penis.'

This opinion of Pischel was, in its turn, criticised by Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* II, 267) who has observed (1) that the expression *śisur dán*, in 10, 61, 20 is so similar to *pátir dán* that it is very questionable if it is to be construed in a different manner, and (2) that since

¹ Ludwig interprets the word mostly as 'zu geben, 'zu spenden', etc. (see Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 93) and thus seems to follow Sāyaṇa in deriving the word from the root *dā* 'to give'; *dán* is an infinitive in his opinion. In 1, 120, 6 however he explains the word as 'dass ihr richtet.'

² See Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 93.

śīśu is a common epithet of Agni and this verse is referring to Agni, it is not proper to give it an unusual signification. He has therefore interpreted *pátir dán* as 'Herr des Hauses' in *op. cit.* II, 315, 336 and thus preferred to follow the lead of Roth and Grassmann. So also do Wackernagel who explains *dán* as 'des Hauses' (*Ai. Gr.* I, pp. 196, 258) and Macdonell who explains *dán* as the genitive of *dám-* (*Ved. Gr.* pp. 37, 60: see also p. 218 and n. 5 there). Similarly, Geldner too translates *pátir dán* and *páti dán* in 1, 140, 1; 153, 1; 120, 6 as 'Hausgebieter', 'Herr dieses Hauses' and 'Hausmeister' in his *RV. Ueber.*

Now, the criticisms urged by Pischel against the interpretation proposed by Roth, and by Oldenberg³ against that proposed by Pischel, are, it seems to me, quite valid. At the same time, it also seems to be beyond dispute that *dán* in the combination *pátir dán* and *śīśur dán*, is the genitive form of a word like *dans* or *dáms*, as observed by Wackernagel (l. c.). This *dans* or *dáms* cannot, for the reasons mentioned above, signify 'house'; and I therefore believe that it is identical with the word of that form which is cognate with the words *dámsas*, *dámsanā*, etc., and is derived from the root *dáms* 'to be strong'. This is the opinion of Pischel also, except that he thinks that the root *dáms* signifies 'zu richten'. Compare his observations in l. c., p. 103: "Es ergiebt sich also, dass *dán* zu *dáms* gehört, dessen Grund-

³ There are other objections, too, that can be urged against Pischel's interpretation. His separation of *pátih* and *dán* (in his opinion, both are nominatives) in the combination *pátir dán* cannot be correct. For, except in the cases pointed out by Grassmann (s. v. *pati* 8, 9), the word *páti* by itself (i.e., when not used in association with genitives like *vājasya*, *vasunah*, *śubhah*, *śavasah* etc.) is never used in the *RV* as an epithet of gods. Again, Pischel's interpretations of 10, 99, 6 and 10, 115, 2 seem to be forced and indicate that his explanation of the word *dán* is not correct.

bedeutung 'richten' ist. . . Zur gleichen Wurzel gehören *daṁsána*, *daṁsánā*, *dáṁsas* 'Meisterschaft', 'Macht', *daṁsánāvant* 'mächtig', *purudáṁsa*, *purudáṁsas*, *sudáṁsas* 'sehr mächtig', *dáṁsiṣṭha* 'sehr mächtig', *dáṁsu* 'mächtig' im Sinne von 'gewaltig', 'weit', 'hoch' u. dgl., *dáṁsujuṭa* 'in gewaltiger Eile' (so auch Ved. Stud. 1, 220 zu lesen; sonst weiss ich auch heut keine bessere Erklärung von 1, 122, 10), *dasmá* und *dasrá* 'mächtig', 'Meister'.'"

Compare also his observations on pp. 104-5 in continuation of the above.

In other words, *dán* in the combination *síśur dán* and *pátir dán*, is the genitive form of *daṁs* which, like *tavás* and *sáhas*, signifies 'strong, powerful, great' and also 'strength, power, greatness.' The epithet *síśur dán*, in 10, 61, 20 addressed to Agni, thus means 'child of strength' and is synonymous with the epithets *sahasah* *sūnu* and *sahasas putra* that are applied to him in many verses, (see Grassmann, s. v. *sahas*); and the epithet *pátir dán* used in 10 99, 6 and 10, 105, 2 that are both addressed to Indra is similarly synonymous with the epithet *śavasas pati* that is applied to him in many verses (see Grassmann, s. v. *śavas*).

I shall now show that this meaning suits the context in all the verses in which the word *dán* occurs.

1, 120, 6 : *śrutáṁ gāyatrám tákavānasyā-*
hám cid dhí virébhāśvinā vām |
ākṣi śubhas pati dán ||

"Hear the hymn of Takavāna; I have indeed, O Aśvins, sung your praise. O ye lords of splendour, that are great, turn your eyes."

In pāda c, I supply the word *adhattam* after *ā* on the analogy of 1, 116, 16: *tásmā* (sc. *ṛjrāśvāya*) *akṣi nāsatyā* *vicákṣa* *ā dhattam* *dasrá bhiṣajāv* *anarván* and 1, 117, 17: *ākṣi* *ṛjrāśve* *aśvināv* *adhattam*. Sāyaṇa explains *tákavānasya* in a as *skhalad-gater andhasya* *Rṛjrāśvāya*,

an explanation which is perhaps correct;⁴ compare 1, 116, 16 cited above. *dán*=great, *dasrā*; compare the many passages in which this epithet or its equivalents *dámsiṣṭhā*, *purudámsasā*, *śacīpatī*, *śakrā*, *tuvīṣṭamā*, etc., are applied to the Aśvins. *ākṣi adhattam* in c means 'cast your eyes on the *dakṣiṇā* that is now offered to me'; see Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, p. 148.

10, 99, 6 : *sá id dāsam tuvīrāvam pátir dán
śalaksám triśīrṣānam dāmāyat |
asyá trító nv ójasā vṛdhānó
vipā varāhám áyo-agrayā han ||*

"He, (Indra) lord of strength, overcame the loudly roaring dāsa with three heads and six eyes. Trita, waxing strong with his (*sc.* Indra's) strength, killed the boar with iron-tipped arrow." The fighting of Indra and Trita with the dāsa of three heads is referred to in 10, 8, 8-9 also : *sá pítryāny āyudhāni cīdīān īndreṣīta
āptyó abhy āyudhyat | triśīrṣānam saptárasmīm jaḡhāvān
tvāṣṭrásya cīn nīḥ sasṛje trító gāḥ || bhūrīd īndra udī-
nakṣantam ójó 'vābhīnat sātpatir mānyamānam | tvāṣṭrásya
cīd viṣvārūpasya gónām ācakrāṇás trīṇi śīrṣā párā vark.*

10, 105, 2 : *hári yásya suyújā vivratā vér
árvantā 'nu śépā |
ubhā raji ná keśinā pátir dán ||*

The construction of this verse is difficult. Grassmann has translated it as "Du, dessen goldfarbenes Rossepaar schön angeschirrt, auf beiden Seiten vorwärts strebt, laufend längs den beiden Schwänzen des Vogels wie ein Hausherr zwischen den beiden behaarten Linien", Ludwig as "Des falbenpaar leicht angespannt verschiedenen seiten zustrebend anrief der vogel die renner, zwei Raji's gleich die mähnigen, der ist herr zu geben" and Pischel (l. c. p. 95) as "Dessen störrige Falben fromm

⁴ In this case, it would be better to interpret *śrutām* as 'you have heard', and *pāda c* as 'O ye lords of splendour, ye that are great have given two eyes (to Rjṛāśva)'.

sind, wenn er, der Herr, die beiden mähnigen Rosse, die wie zwei Ruten steigen, gezügelt hat, sie bemeisternd ". I translate as follows: " Whose two bay horses are self-yoking, difficult of control, (these) two swift runners, having like two rajis (long) hair in the tails, the lord of strength drives."

véh=drives, sets in motion; compare 1, 63, 2 : *ā yád dhári indra vívratā vér ā te vájram jaritā báhvór dhāt*; 1, 177, 2: *yé te vṛṣano vṛṣabhāsa indra brahma-yújo vṛṣarathāśo átyāh | tān ā tiṣṭha*; and 10, 105, 5 : *ádhi yás tashná késavantā. suyújā=svayujā*, self-yoking; see p. 45 above. Compare also the epithets *brahmayújā* and *vacoyújā*⁵ applied to Indra's horses in the following verses, 8, 1, 24: *ā tvā sahásram ā śatám yuktā ráthe hiraṇyáye | brahmayújo háraya indra keśino vāhantu sómapitaye*; 8, 17, 2: *ā tvā brahmayújā hárī vāhatām indra keśinā*; 8, 45, 39: *ā ta etā vacoyújā hárī grbhne sumádrathā*; 8, 98, 9: *yuñjánti hárī iṣirásya gātháyorau rátha urúyuge | indraváhā vacoyújā*. *vívratā*=difficult to control, unruly, refractory, 'widerspenstig' (Roth in PW; Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, 1, 63, 2), and not 'nach verschiedenen Seiten strebend' (Grassmann). *ánu sépā*=in the two tails; compare 10, 97, 19: *yā óṣadhiḥ sómarājñir viṣṭhitāḥ pṛthivīm ánu* 'the plants, whose king is Soma, that are spread in the earth'; 8, 10, 6: *yád antárikṣe pátathāḥ purubhujā yád véné ródasi ánu* 'whether ye fly in the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), O ye two that possess

⁵ It seems to me now that it is preferable to interpret *vacoyújā* and *manoyújā áśvā* as 'the two horses that are yoked by the hymn or praise recited by the priest'; that is, 'the two horses that yoke themselves to the chariot as soon as the priest recites hymns invoking and praising the deities that are their masters' instead of as 'the two horses that yoke themselves to the chariot as soon as their master thinks of setting forth or expresses in words his intention to set forth' (see p. 46 above and n. 7 there). Compare in this connection 3, 35, 4: *bráhmaṇā te brahmayújā yunajmi hárī sákhayā sadhamála áśu* and 7, 36, 4: *girā yā etā yunajad dhári ta índra priyā suráthā sūra dháyú*.

much, or in these two worlds, namely, Heaven and Earth"; 1, 80, 1: *árcann ánu svarājyam* 'may they sing in thy own sovereignty'.

The meaning of *rají* is unknown. Grassmann suggests⁶ that it denotes an animal like an antelope or buffalo; and it is clear from the above comparison that it has very long hair. Perhaps, it denotes the *camara-mrga* or Tibetan yak which has long silken hair all over the body. With regard to *pāda* c, compare 8, 1, 25: *ā tvā ráthe hiranyáyc hárī mayúraśepyā | śitiprsthā vahatām* "O Indra, may the two steeds with white backs and tails as long as those of the peacock carry thee in the golden chariot."

Or, should one interpret *ánu sépā* as 'proceeding from, i.e., beginning with, the two tails'? In this case, the two steeds of Indra would have long hair all over the body like the above-mentioned yak. Compare 3, 45, 1: *ā mandraír indra háribhir yáhí mayúraromabhiḥ* 'come, O Indra, with beautiful steeds that have on their bodies hair (long) like the peacock ('s tail).' The *sāmānyadharma* in the comparison contained in the epithets *mayúraśepyā* and *mayúraromabhiḥ*, as in the comparisons contained in many passages of later classical writers, is length. Compare, for instance, Subhāśitaratnabhāndagāra, pp 269 f.: *asyā manoharākāra-kabārī-bhāra-nirjītāḥ | lajjayeva vane vāsam cakruś camara-barhiṇāḥ*;⁷ *asyāḥ sapakṣaika-vidhoh kacaughaḥ sthāne mukhasyopari vāsam āpa | pakṣastha-tāvad-bahu-candrako 'pi kalāpiṇām yena jītāḥ*

⁶ Pischel interprets *rají* as 'sich aufrichtend,' 'gerade' (i.e., p. 95), while Sayaṇa explains it as *dyāvāprthivyau | yad vā mahāntau rañjakau sūryācandramasān*.

⁷ It will be seen that this stanza mentions, besides the peacock, the *camara* or yak also. Its hair or *cāmara* is likewise mentioned in a similar connection on p. 270 op. cit. in the following verse: *cikura-prakārā jayanti te viduśi mūrdhani yān bibharti sā | paśunā' pūv aþuraskṛtena tattulanām icchatī cāmarenā kah*. These verses thus lend support to the view expressed above that *rajī* = *camara* or yak.

*kalāpah; asyāḥ kacānāṁ śikhinaś ca kim nu vidhiṁ kalāpau
vimater agātām | tenāyam ebhiḥ kim apūji puṣpair abhartsi
datvā sa kim ardha-candram; na jīmūta-cchedaḥ sa hi
gagana-cārī na ca tamo na tasyendor maitrī na ca madhu-
karāś te hi mukharāḥ | na piccham tat kekiny ucitam
asito 'yam na ca mayir mṛdu-tvād ā jñātam ghana-cikura-
pāśo mṛgadṛśaḥ; and Raghuvamśa 9, 67: api turaga-
samīpād utpatantam mayūram na sa rucira-kalāpam bāna-
lakṣī-cakāra | sapadi gata-manaskas citra-mālyānukirne
rati-vigalita-bandhe keśa-pāśe priyāyāḥ.*

Oldenberg (op. cit. II, 325) suggests ⁸ with hesitation that *ánu śepā* in b should be emended into *tanuśepā* and refers in support thereot to the observation of Gunther (Beurteilungslehre des Pferdes, p. 298) that 'edle Hengste haben dünneren und kürzeren Penis, gemeine haben längeren und dickeren.' This is not very convincing, and, for my part, I do not feel that there is any need for emendation.

1, 149, 1: *mahāḥ sá rāyā eṣate pātir dānn
inā ināsyā vásunāḥ padā ā |
úpa dhrājantam ádrayo vidhánn iti ||*

"This lord of strength advances to great wealth, the mighty one in the abode of mighty wealth. May the stones honour him as he speeds near."

This verse is, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇi*, addressed to Agni; but, as observed by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*), his name is not mentioned in the hymn, and the word *ádrayah* in v. 1 and *sargah* and *śisrīta* in v. 2 seem to point to Soma as the deity. In either case, *pātir dān* means 'lord of strength.' Compare 5, 6, 9: *utó na út pūpūryā ukthéṣu śavasas pāta iśam stotybhya ā
bhara* and 9, 36, 6: *ā divás pṛṣṭhám aśvayúr gavyayúh
soma rohasi | vīrayúh śavasas pāte* in which the epithet *śavasas pāti* is applied to Agni and Soma.

⁸ He has perhaps allowed himself to be influenced by Sāyana who explains *śepā* here as *śepavantau pṛasasta-pūmītvāv ity arthaḥ*.

1, 153, 4: *utá vāṁ vikṣú mádyāsv ándho*
gāva āpaś ca pīpayanta devīḥ |
utó no asyá pūrvyāḥ pátir dán
vītāṁ pātāṁ pāyasa usriyāyāḥ ||

“And in clans with plenty of Soma, the cows and divine waters have made the plant to swell. And of this your cow's milk, drink with relish, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa)—(and) first, the lord of strength (Agni).”

mádyāsu vikṣú means ‘in clans having plenty of Soma’ in the same way as *somyāt sádasah* in 1, 182, 8 (*asmād adyá sádasah somyād ā*) means ‘from a seat rich in Soma’; see Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, I, pp. 192, 237. According to Geldner (l.c.), the sense of the verse is: “O ye Mitra and Varuṇa, the Soma juice is ready for your drinking in many houses; do ye however rather drink with relish this cow's milk of ours.” As observed by Sāyaṇa, *pátir dán*, ‘lord of strength’ in pāda c denotes Agni; see also Pischel, l.c., p. 98.

10, 61, 20: *ádhāsu mandró aratír vibhāvā-*
va syati dvivartanír vaneṣāt |
ūrdhvā yáć chréṇir ná síśur dán
makṣú sthirāṁ śevydhám sūta mātā ||

Pāda c of this verse is obscure. Roth, in the PW, emends *síśuh* into *síśi.ah*, while Pischel (op. cit., p. 94) believes that *síśuh* itself is, like the German ‘der Kleine,’ slang for *śiśna*. According to him, pādas cd are parallel to 5, 7, 8: *suśūr asūta mātā krāṇā yád ānaśé bhágam* and other similar verses and says that the mother gave birth to Agni immediately after copulation.

This explanation does not seem satisfactory to me (see p. 117 above); and I am inclined to believe that the verse as a whole says that Agni grew up as soon as he was born and consumed the plants, and that it is parallel to 7, 4, 2: *sá gṛtso agnís tárūṇāś cid astu yáto yáviṣṭho*
ájanīṣṭa mātūḥ | sám yó vánā yuváte súcidan bhúri cid
ánnā sám id atti sadyāḥ; 10, 115, 1-2: *citrá ic chīśos*

tárūnasya vaksátho ná yó mātárāv aþy éti dhåtave | anūdhå yádi jiþanad ádhā ca nú vavákṣa sadyó máhi dūtyàm cárān || agnír ha náma dhāyi dám apástamah sám yó vánā yuváte bhásmanā datā | abhipramúrā juhvā svadhvará inó ná próthamāno yávase výṣā and other similar passages. I therefore translate the verse as follows: "Then the dear (Agni), bright, radiant, two-wayed, ruling over the forest, lets himself loose in these (plants), when (he), the child of strength becomes upright like a straight line; the mother soon gave birth to the strong one, the enhancer of happiness."

Pādas d and c, in which it is said that the mother gave birth to the strong one and that the child of strength became upright like a straight line, that is, grew up and set himself into activity, should be read first; and pādas ab, which describe that Agni let himself loose in the plants (and consumed them) should be read thereafter.

āsu in a refers to óṣadhiṣu; compare 6, 12, 3 (explained above on p. 112): téjiṣṭhā yásyāratír vanerāt todó ádhvan ná vṛdhasānó adyaut . . avartrá óṣadhiṣu which is in many respects parallel to this. *dvivartaníh* in b refers perhaps to the two paths, upward and forwards, which Agni follows in the forest when consuming plants.

(ūrdhvó bhavati) 'becomes upright' in pāda c means 'stands up (does not sit); sets himself into activity; bestirs himself'; compare 4, 4, 5: *ūrdhvó bhava* *práti* *vidhyādhy* *asmát* 'get up (bestir thyself) and shoot them away from us' where the expression *ūrdhvó bhava* is used of Agni in this sense; 5, 1, 2: *ūrdhvó agníh sumánāh* *prātár* *asthāt* 'Agni, well-disposed, has put himself into activity in the morning'; 6, 63, 4: *ūrdhvó vām agnír adhvaréṣv* *asthāt* and other passages where the word *ut-tiṣṭha* (= *ūrdhvó bhava*) is used of Agni. Compare also the expression *todó ádhvan ná vṛdhasānāh* in 6, 12, 3 cited above which too has the same sense.

As already observed above, *síśur dán* = child of strength.

10, 115, 2: *agnír ha náma dhāyi dánna apástamah
sám yó vánā yuváte bhásmanā datā |
abhipramúrā juhvā svadhvará
inó ná próthamāno yávase výṣā ||*

"The strong one, most efficient, named Agni, was established, who consumes woods with pulverising (i. e., destroying) tooth, the accomplisher of sacrifices with (his) growing tongue (i. e., flame), snorting like a great bull in a field of grass."

After *dhāyi* in a, we have to understand *vikṣú, márteṣu, duroṣé, sádane* or other similar word; compare 1, 148, 2-3: *nítye cín nú yám sádane jagi bhré prásastibhir
dadhiré yajñíyásah | prá sú nayanta grbháyanta iṣṭáv
áśváso ná rathyò rārahānáh || purúni dasmó ní riṇāti
jámbhair ád rocate vánā á vibhávā | ád asya vāto ánu vāti
śocih.*

The expression *abhipramúrā juhvā* in c means, according to Pischel (l.c., p. 98), 'strengthening ladle' and according to Oldenberg (*op. cit.* II, 336), 'with destroying tongue.' Compare however 1, 127, 1: *yá
ūrdhváyā svadhvaró devó devácyā kṛpā* 'the god who, with his upright flame turned towards the gods, accomplishes the sacrifice' addressed to Agni; the expression *ūrdhváyā svadhvaráh kṛpā* in this verse is exactly parallel to *abhipramúrā juhvā svadhvaráh* in pāda c above. The word *abhipramúrā* is derived from the root *murch* 'to grow, to increase, to become strong,' as pointed out by Pischel (l.c., p. 112).

I have interpreted *dán* as 'strong' here as I have done in 10, 105, 2 above. Compare the epithet *dasmá* applied to Agni in 1, 148, 3 cited above and in other passages. It is possible to regard *dán* here as equivalent to *dáme* (compare the word *sádane* in 1, 148, 2 cited above) and to interpret it as 'in the house.' There is however

no necessity to assume two words of the form *dán*, and it seems to me preferable to look upon it as a derivative of *daṁs* 'strong,' in this verse also.

In the opinion of Pischel (l.c., p. 100), the word *dán* occurs, further, in the RV in the two following stanzas also:

5, 3, 7: *divó ná yásya vidható návīnod*
vṛṣā rukṣā óṣadhiṣu nūnot |
ghṛṇā ná yó dhrájasā pátmanā yánn
ā ródasi vásunā dám supátnī ||

According to Pischel, the above word *dán* occurs in pāda d as *dám*, and is a verbal form; *ā dám*=ausrichtete, i.e., ausstattete, and pādas cd mean, 'der wie (der Durstige) in der Hitze im Zug und Flug gehend, Himmel und Erde, die trefflichen Gatten, mit Gut ausstattete.' I do not feel so certain that the word used in this verse is *dán*; but, granting that Pischel's opinion is right, I would translate the verse as 'Whose (flame), when he worships (the gods), roars like (the thunder) of Heaven, he, the strong bright one, has roared in the plants; going with flying speed like one (seeking shelter) from the heat, the strong one has extended with light Heaven and Earth, the excellent husband and wife.'

In pāda b, the word used is, according to Roth (Ueber gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes in Veda, p. 3) and Pischel (l.c.), *rukṣé* which is short for *rukṣéṣu* and means 'in the trees.' According to the Padapāṭha, however, the word used is *rukṣáḥ* which probably means 'bright'; see Grassmann and Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, I, 371.

I have followed Pischel in the interpretation of pāda a; but I do not feel certain that this is what the poet had in his mind. Regarding the simile however, compare 7, 3, 6: *divó ná te tanyatúr eti śúṣmāḥ* and 4, 10, 4: *prá te divó ná stanayanti śúṣmāḥ*.

The comparison in c is, according to Pischel, concerned with one who, feeling thirsty in the heat, runs to procure some drink to quench his thirst. I am inclined to believe that it concerns one who flies for shelter from the heat ; compare 6, 16, 38 : *úpa chāyām iva ghṝyēr áganma sáarma te vayám* and 1, 158, 3 : *úpa vām ávah śarayám gameyam śúro nájma patáyadbbhir évaih.*

In d, I interpret *vásu* as 'light' and supply after á the word *tatāna* on the analogy of 6, 4, 6 : á *súryo ná bhānumádbhir arkaír ágne tatánthra ródasí vī bhāsā | citró nayat pári támānsy aktáh sōcīṣā pátmann auśijó ná dīyan.*

The reading *dám supátni* is, though not unintelligible, suspicious ; for, as I have already observed above, the word *páti* by itself (i. e., not accompanied by genitives) is not used in the RV as an epithet of any deity ; nor are Heaven and Earth described anywhere in the RV as 'excellent husband and wife (treffliche Gaten).' I would therefore emend *dám supátni* into *dámsupatni* (i.e., *dámsu-patni* ; compare *dámsu-jūlah*, *rámsu-jihvah*) and interpret pāda d as 'he extended Heaven and Earth, lords of greatness, with his light.' *dámsupatni* = great lords or lords of greatness ; it is the equivalent of the epithet *sudámsasā* that is applied to Heaven and Earth in 6, 70, 7 : *úrjam no dyaús ca prthivi ca pīnvatām pītā mātā viśvatidā sudámsasā* and 1, 159, 1 : *devébhir yé deváputre sudámsasā*. Roth, too, in the PW, suggests the emendation *dámsupatni* ; he would however interpret this word as 'einen wunderkräftigen Herrn habend.' Oldenberg (ZDMG. 55, 290) suggests the emendation *tán supátni*, *tán* being a verbal form (= *tatāna*) of the root *tan*.

4, 19, 7 : *prāgrúvo nabhanvò ná vákvā
dhvásrā apinvad yuvatir ytaññāh |
dhánvāny ájrān apīṇak trṣāṇān
ádhog indrah staryò dámsupatniḥ ||*

Here Roth would retain the reading *dámsupatnih* and interpret the word as 'whose lord is wonderfully strong'; but against this Pischel (l. c., p. 102) urges that 'sterile women whose lord is wonderfully strong' are, though conceivable, hardly within the realm of probability. He would therefore emend *dámsupatnih* into *dám supátnih* and interpret pāda d as 'es melkte Indra die unfruchtbaren (Kühe), er machte die Frauen, die einen tüchtigen Gatten haben, schwanger' d. h. "Indra bewirkt, dass die unfruchtbaren Kühe Milch geben, also fruchtbar werden, und dass die Frauen Kinder bekommen, ein Hauptwunsch des Inders." Here too *dám* or *dán* is a verbal form of the root *dáms* 'richten' and means 'er machte schwanger.' The stanza signifies, according to him, "Er füllte an die seichten Flüsse die (dabei) wie Mädchen (bei der Vergewaltigung) schrieen. Wüsten und Gefilde, die dürsteten, tränkte er; Indra schaffte Milch den unfruchtbaren (Kühen), er machte die Ehefrauen schwanger." Geldner translates pāda d⁹ as 'Indra melkte die Geltkühe die einen tüchtigen Hausgemahl (in ihm) haben' in his *RV. Über.* and therefore looks upon *dám* as the genitive of *dám* or *dáms* meaning 'house.' Grassmann translates the pāda as 'Indra molk des Dämon's gelbe Kühe' and Ludwig as 'er gewann milch von den [bisz dahin] unfruchtbaren gattinnen des wunder [tieres].'

Hillebrandt (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 46) translates the stanza as: "Er schwängerte die Mädchen, die wie hervorbrechende Quellen tobten, er schwängerte die jungen, rechtschaffenen Frauen, welche verkummerten. Die dürstenden Triften und Felder sättigte er. Er verschaffte Milch den Unfruchtbaren, die einen wunderkräftigen Gatten hatten," and observes: "Die gewaltige,

⁹ The other three pādas he has translated as: "Er schwängerte die Unvermählten, die wie die Quellwasser glücksten, er schwängerte die sittsamen jungen Frauen, die schmachtenden. Er tränkte die verdursteten Steppen und Ebenen."

befruchtende Kraft Indra's wird geschildert. Es wird immer übersehen, dass es sich um eine Steigerung handelt. I. schwängert 1. die *agrúvo*, die unvermählten, 2. die jungen Frauen, die aber *dhvasrá* sind, 3. die, die unfruchtbar sind, obwohl sie einen kräftigen Mann haben. Unter *dhvasrá* sind die zu verstehen, die einen unfruchtbaren oder sie vernachlässigenden Mann haben. Die Bedeutung von *dáñsu* . . ist in dem Zusammenhang ganz klar: trotzdem die Frauen einen sehr kräftigen Gatten haben, bleiben sie unfruchtbar, und Indra hilft."

Similarly, it is the opinion of Grassmann and Ludwig (and of Geldner) also that the first two pādas too of the stanza are concerned with Indra's impregnation of maidens, and that *nabhanvāḥ* in pāda a is the *upamāna* and not the *upameya*.

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect; and I believe that the stanza as a whole refers to Indra's release of the Waters or Rivers. For, on the one hand, nowhere else in the RV is Indra described as making maidens or married women fruitful. 6, 44, 21: *vṛṣāśi* *divó* *vṛṣabhbhāḥ* *prthivyā* *vṛṣā* *sindhūnām* *vṛṣabhbhāḥ* *stiyānām* | *vṛṣne* *ta* *indur* *vṛṣabha* *pīpāya* and other similar verses which describe him as 'bull of the earth, sky,' etc., signify only that Indra is the chief person in the earth, sky, etc., (see Grassmann s. v. *vṛṣabha* 8) and are parallel in that respect to 1, 59, 2: *mūrdhā* *divó* *nābhir* *agnīḥ* *prthivyāḥ*; 8, 44, 16: *agnir* *mūrdhā* *divāḥ* *kakūt* *pātiḥ* *prthivyā* *ayām* and other similar verses that describe Agni as such. And, on the other hand, Indra is described in many RV verses as the liberator of the Waters or Rivers that had been confined by Vṛtra, and as having made it easy for them to flow freely to the sea. Compare the passages cited by Hillebrandt in his *Ved. Myth.* 3, 174-5; compare also 1, 32, 2: *āhann* *āhīm* *pārvate* *śiśriyānām* *tvāṣṭāsmai* *vájram* *svaryām* *tatakṣa* | *vāśrā* *iva* *dhenávāḥ* *syāndamānā* *āñjaḥ* *samudrām*

ávā jagmur āpah ; 2, 19, 3 : sá māhina índro árno apām
 praírayad ahíhácchā samudrám ; 6, 30, 4 : áhann áhīm
 pariśáyānam árṇó 'vāsījo apó ácchā samudrám ; 1, 130, 5 :
 tvám v̄thā nadyā indra sártavé 'cchā samudrám asrīo
 ráthān iva vājayatō ráthān iva ; 6, 17, 12 ; ā kṣódo máhi
 v̄tām nadīnām páriśhitam asrīja ūrmím apām | tāsām
 ánu praváta indra pánthām prārdayo nīcīr apāvah
 samudrám. These Waters or Rivers, it is easy to
 understand, made fruitful all the lands they passed
 through on their way to the sea. Their water is hence
 called páyas 'milk,' in the RV, and the rivers themselves
 are described as overflowing with milk, páyasā pínvamānāh, in 3, 33, 4 : enā vayām páyasā pínvamānā ánu
 yónim devákṛtam cárantih . . . kimyúr vīpro nadyo johavīti and 7, 51, 4 : tā asmábhyam páyasā pínvamānāh śivā
 devīr asīpadā bhavantu sárvā nadyo asīmidā bhavantu and
 as easy to milk, suđúghāh, in 7, 36, 6 : yāh suṣváyanta
 suđúghāh suđhārā abhī svéna páyasā pīpyānāh. 1, 33, 1 :
 gāvēva śubhré mātārā rihāyé vīpāt chutudrī páyasā javete
 describes the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri as 'running
 (overflowing) with milk like two milch-cows (hastening
 to their calves)'.

These Waters are described as dāsápatnīh 'wives of
 the dāsa,' in 1, 32, 11 : dāsápatnīr áhigopā atiśhan
 níruddhā āpah pañineva gāvah, in 5, 30, 5 : vīsvā apó
 ajayad dāsápatnīh and also in 8, 96, 18 : tvám apó ajayo
 dāsápatnīh. The dāsa referred to here is Vṛtra, who, in
 8, 93, 2 : tām índrañ vājayāmasi mahé vṛtrāya hāntave
 is called 'great (strong).' Hence the Waters or Rivers
 themselves are called vīśapatnīh and vīśnah pátnīh
 'wives of the strong one' in 8, 15, 6 : vīśapatnīr apó
 jayā divé-dive and 5, 42, 12 : vīśnah pátnīr nadyo
 vibhvataśtāh ; and in 4, 17, 3 : vādhū vītrām vājrenā
 mandasānāh sárañ ápo jávasā hatávṛṣṇīh, the Waters,
 after the killing of Vṛtra, are called hatávṛṣṇīh 'they
 whose strong husband had been killed.'

It is these Waters that are referred to as dāmsu-
 patnīh in pāda d of the above verse. I therefore translate

the verse as: "He caused to swell the rivers that cried out like maidens, that were covered with dust, youthful, knowers of the law. He filled the thirsty plains and deserts; Indra milked the sterile wives of the strong one (i. e. made fruit-bearing the wives of the strong one that had been sterile)."

nabhanvāh in a signifies 'rivers' as stated in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and denotes the Rivers that were liberated by Indra. I follow Pischel (l.c.) in looking upon *nabhanvāh* as the *upameya* and *agrūvāh* as the *upamāna*. Regarding the separation of the particle *ná* from *agrūvāh*, compare Pischel's observation in *Ved. St.*, 1, 6: "ná steht auch sonst zuweilen nicht direkt hinter dem Worte, zu dem es gehört. So z. B. 5, 36, 2: *rúhat sómo ná párvatasya prsthé* für *rúhat sómaḥ prsthé ná párvatasya*. Auch hier war das Metrum die Ursache der Umstellung."

The epithets *dhvásrāḥ*, *yuvatīḥ* and *ṛtajñāḥ* should be construed with both *nabhanvāh* and *agrūvāh*. *dhvásrā*,¹⁰ I conceive, is a synonym of the cognate word *dhūsara* 'dusty, covered with dust;' and *dhvásrāḥ* denotes, in the case of the Rivers, that they are dusty, i.e., that their beds have little or no water and are for the most part covered with dust, i. e., that the rivers are dried up, and in the case of the *agrūvāh*, that they are *rajasvalāḥ* (and therefore fit for impregnation.) *ṛtajñāḥ* denotes, in the case of the *agrūvāh*, that they knew the *ṛtu*¹¹ or proper time for intercourse (see in this connection R. Schmidt's *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*,² p. 285f., 295f.), and, in

¹⁰ Roth, in the PW, explains this word as *spritzend, stiebend; ausstreuend* so v. a. *freigiebig*; so also does Grassmann. Pischel, in *Ved. St.*, 2, 102, explains it as 'finster,' 'verstimmt' 'missmutig,' 'gloomy' (but, as epithet of the Rivers, he interprets it as 'wasserlos,' 'seicht'). As we have seen above, Geldner interprets it as 'languishing' and Hillebrandt as 'a woman that (is sterile or has a husband who neglects her and) is pining away.'

¹¹ Compare 1, 164, 8: *mātā pitāram rtā á bahāja* where too the word *ṛtā* seems to be used in the sense of *ṛtu*.

the case of the Rivers, that they knew that, after the death of their husband Vṛtra, they have become the property (wives) of his conqueror Indra.

adhog 'milked,' in d, signifies that Indra made the Waters (Rivers) bear fruit, that is, that he released them so that they may quench the thirst of the plains and make the land fruitful. Compare in this connection the words *dhánvāny ájrāñ aprṇak trṣāñān* of pāda c and pāda b of AV. 6, 22, 3 that is cited below; compare also what has been said above about *páyās*. The Waters (Rivers) are called *staryāḥ* because, when confined by Vṛtra, they were pent up in the mountains and could not reach the plains and make them fruitful.

Regarding the simile *agrúvo ná vākvāḥ*, compare pāda c of TS. 3, 1, 11, 7-8: *udaprúto marutas tāñ iyarta vṛṣṭim yé vīśve marúto junánti | krósāti gárdā kanyēva tunnā pérūm tuñjānā pátyeva jāyā* and AV. 6, 22, 8: *udaprúto marútas tāñ iyarta vṛṣṭir yā vīśvā nivátas pṛṇāti | éjāti gláhā kanyēva tunnā érum tundānā pátyeva jāyā*. The latter stanza is plainly corrupt (see Whitney, *AV. Trans.*) while the meaning of the former too is not clear. There is no doubt however that in both verses the Maruts are entreated to send down rain; that is to say, the situation is much the same as that referred to in RV 4, 19, 7. According to pāda c of the TS verse,¹² this rain 'roars, i. e., cries like a . . maiden that is pricked'; and the expression *krósāti kanyēva tunnā* in it is exactly equivalent to the expression *agrúvo ná vākvāḥ* of the RV verse.

The word *dámsu* that is employed in this verse (4, 19, 7) and, in my opinion, in 6, 3, 7 also explained above, is derived from the above-mentioned root *dañs* 'to be strong' by the addition of the suffix *su*; compare

¹² *gardā* in this pāda is obscure. Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 85) says that it denotes 'geil,' but I am not convinced that this interpretation is correct.

dakṣu from *dah* 'to burn' and *makṣu* from *mah* 'to be great (strong, vigorous, etc.)'. It is explained variously by Sāyaṇa as *dāntair asvaiḥ* (in 1, 122, 10), *danteṣu madhye* (in 1, 141, 4) and as *dāmseṣu karmavatsu | yad vā gr̥hanā-maitat | antya-lopaś chāndasah | gr̥havad ācchādakeṣu . . . yad vā dāmsu yāga-gr̥heṣu devayajaneṣu* (in 1, 134, 4). Roth and Grassmann interpret it as 'wunderkräftig, auf wunderbare Weise, erstaunlich,' while Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.* (I, 170, 179) has declared that the word is obscure and that the meaning 'in the house' does not suit. Pischel, in *Ved. St.*, 2, 103, has explained this word as 'mächtig,' i. e., mighty, great, powerful; and there is no doubt that this interpretation is correct, for, as observed above, it is derived from the root *dāms* 'to be strong.' The word therefore signifies primarily 'strong, great, mighty, powerful,' and secondarily, 'swift, quick, rapid.' Regarding the transition of meaning, compare *Ved. St.*, 1, 16; 96f.; compare also the above-cited word *makṣu* which signifies primarily 'great, powerful' and secondarily (and most frequently) 'quick, swift, rapid.'

dāmsu seems, like *makṣu*, to be an indeclinable, and occurs in the following three verses also of the RV:

1, 122, 10 : *sā vrādhato nāhuṣo dāmsujūtaḥ*
sārdhastaro narām gūrtāśravāḥ |
rīṣṛṣṭarātir yāti lālhasyātvā
rīsvāsu pṛtsu sādām ic chūrah ॥

"He is more swiftly-speeding, stronger, than the powerful Nahus; his fame is praised by men. Giving away gifts, he, the swift-goer, goes in all fights, always a hero." *dāmsujūtaḥ* = swiftly-speeding or 'in gewaltiger Eile' (Pischel; *Ved. St.*, 2, 103); it is an equivalent of the word *lālhasyātvā* that occurs in pāda c, and means 'irresistible; difficult to check.' *sāh* in a refers to the person who worships Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities of this verse (see Sāyaṇa's commentary); and *dāmsujūtaḥ* even without the suffix *tara*, seems to have the meaning of a comparative here. Or, should we construe the suffix *tara* of *sārdhastara* with *dāmsujūta* also?

Geldner, in *RV. Ueber.*, I, 353, has pointed out the similarity of 6, 24, 8: *ní vīlāve námate ná sthirāya ná śárdhate dásyujūtāya stavān | ájrā índrasya giráyaś cid rṣvā gambhiré cid bhavati gālhám asmai* with this verse. The words *dámsujūtu* and *dásyujūta* in these two verses seem clearly to be parallel to each other. Similarly, as we have observed above, the word *dámsupatnīḥ* in 4, 19, 7 is parallel to the word *dāsápatnīḥ* in 1, 32, 11. Is it possible then that the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* are derived from the same root *dáms* ‘to be strong’ from which *dámsu* is derived, with loss of the nasal as in the cognate words *dasma* and *dasra*?

1, 134, 4: *túbhyam uṣāsah śúcayah pārāváti
bhadrā vásatrā tanvate dám̄su raśmíṣu
citrā návyeṣu raśmíṣu |
túbhyam dhenúḥ sabardúghā
vís̄vā vásūni dohate |
ájanayo marúto vaksáṇābhyo
divá ā vaksáṇābhyaḥ ||*

“For thee [O Vāyu], the bright Dawns weave beautiful garments (i.e., make beautiful ornaments) in the swift rays, marvellous (garments) in the new rays. For thee does the milch-cow Sabardughā milk all riches. Thou hast engendered the Maruts from the wombs, from the wombs of Heaven.” Regarding the epithet *dám̄su* ‘swift’ applied to *raśmíṣu*, compare 1, 63, 1: *giráyah . . . bhiyā dṛlhāsah kiráṇā nájan* ‘the firm mountains through fear, moved (as swiftly) as rays,’ and 9, 69, 6: *sūryasyeva raśmáyo drāvayitnávah* ‘speeding swiftly like the rays of the sun.’ Or, should we interpret *dám̄su raśmíṣu* as ‘bright rays?’ Regarding the transition of meaning from ‘strong, swift’ to ‘bright,’ see *Ved. St.*, 1, 96f.

Sabardughā (literally, ‘Amṛta-milker’ according to Sāyaṇa) is a cow that milks all desired things and is therefore a prototype of the Kāmadhenu of the later Purāṇas and Epics.

1, 141, 4: *prá yát pitúh paramān nīyáte páry
ā prkṣúdho vīrúdho dám̄su rohati |
ubhā yád asya janúṣām yád invata
ād id yáviṣṭho abhavad ghrṇā śúciḥ ||*

“ When he (sc. Agni) is brought down from the highest father, he quickly climbs the . . plants. When the two promote his birth, he, the youngest, glowed with heat.”

‘The highest father,’ mentioned in a is perhaps Dyaus or Heaven; see Geldner’s *RV. Ueber.*, I, 179. *pra+ṇi* however is a technical term used in the Śrauta-sūtras for the transportation of fire from the Āhavaniya-hearth to the Uttaravedi (see Caland-Henry, *L’Agni-ṣṭoma*, p. 78); and hence Sāyaṇa understands *paramāt pitúh* as referring to this Āhavaniya fire which thereafter comes to be known as the Gārhapatya fire. *prkṣúdhaḥ* is a hap. leg. whose meaning is not known; it signifies perhaps ‘strength-giving’. The ‘two’ mentioned in pāda c are, in all probability, the two arañis. *dám̄su*=vigorously, swiftly; and *dám̄su ā rohati* refers perhaps to the rapid spread of Agni when consuming the plants; compare in this connection the expression *avartrá óṣadhiṣu* in 6, 12, 3 explained above (p. 112).

§ 8
pýthak

This is a word well-known in later literature where it has the meaning *nānā*, ‘diversely, variously, separately, individually, in different ways’; and it has been assumed by the commentators, Indian as well as European, that this is the meaning in the Veda also. This assumption is indeed correct as regards, 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1, and some other verses; but it is otherwise with regard to 10, 91, 7: *vātopadhūta iṣitó vásān ánu trṣú yád ánnā vēviṣad
vitiṣṭhase | ā te yatante rathyò yáthā pýthak sárdhāṁsy*

azne ajárāṇi dháksataḥ ; 9, 86, 2: prá te mādāso madirāsa āśāvó' śrkṣata ráthyāso yáthā pṛthak | dhenúr ná vatsám púyasābhí vajriṇam índram índavo mādhumanta ūrmáyah ; and 10, 142, 4: yád udváto niváto yāsi bápsat pṛthag eṣi pragardhínīva sénā | yadā te vāto anuvāti śocír vápteva śmáśru vapasi prá bhúma all which verses contain similes with pṛthak as the *tertium comparationis*. In 10, 142, 4 it is said that Agni goes, pṛthak, like a swift missile ; in 10, 91, 7, that the flames of Agni press forward, pṛthak, like the horses of a chariot ; and in 9, 86, 2, that the swift gladdening streams of Soma rush forward, pṛthak, like the horses of a chariot. It is obvious that the meaning 'diversely, variously, separately, in different ways', is inappropriate here ; for the horses of a chariot can not be said to press forward 'diversely' or 'in different ways.' On the contrary, it is their community of action and community of goal that is the point of comparison elsewhere in the RV. Compare, for instance, 3, 33, 2: ácchā samudrám rathyēva yāthah 'you, Vipāṭ and Śutudri, go to the sea (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. anyā tām anyām ápy eti śubhre in the same verse and samānám yónim ánu saṁcárantī in the next verse) ; 2, 39, 3: arvāñcā yātām rathyēva śakrā 'come, O ye two mighty (Aśvins) towards us (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 10, 106, 1: sadhrīcīnā yātave pṛém ajīgah) ; and 3, 36, 6: āpah samudrám rathyēva jagnuh 'the waters went (together) to the sea like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 5, 60, 3: āpa iva sadhryāñco dharadhvē). Compare also the epithet sahavākah, drawing together, used of the horses which draw the chariot of Brhaspati in 7, 97, 6 : tām sagmāśo aruṣāśo áśvā bīhaspátiṁ sahavāho vahanti | sahāś cid yásya nīlavat sadhásthām nábhō ná rūpám aruṣām vásanāh. pṛthak therefore cannot mean 'diversely,' 'variously,' 'separately,' 'in different ways,' here ; it must have some other signification that can yield good sense in these passages.

What this other signification is, can be determined from these passages themselves. As we have seen, *prthag-gamana* is a common characteristic of Agni, of Agni's flames, of the horses of a chariot, and of a swift missile—that is, of a weapon that has been hurled against the foe. If we find out therefore from other passages of the RV an answer to the question 'What attribute is it that is characteristic of the movement of the above-named things?', we shall in all likelihood have found out the meaning of *prthak* in these passages.

The answer to the above question is not difficult to find; for, the only attribute that characterises commonly the movement of Agni, Agni's flames, etc., is 'swiftness,' 'rapidity,' 'quickness,' 'impetuousness,' etc. Compare respectively the following passages: (a) 3, 26, 2: *tám śubhrám agním ávase harāmaha . . . átithim raghuṣyádam* 'we invoke him for protection, Agni, the bright, the swift-moving, the guest'; 10, 6, 4: *devān ácchā raghupátvā jigāti* 'he (Agni), the swift-mover, goes to the gods'; 1, 140, 9: *tuvigrébhiḥ sátvabhir yāti vī jrāyah* 'he moves swiftly with his much-devouring flames'; 1, 79, 1: *áhir dhúnir vāta iwa dhrájimān* '(Agni) swift (like) Ahi, flying like the wind'; 4, 4, 4: *práti spáso vī srja túrṇitamah* 'send forth thy spies, (O Agni,) thou that art the swiftest'; (b) 4, 4, 2: *ávā bhramáśa āśuyā patanti* 'thy flames go swiftly'; 6, 66, 10: *trṣu-cyávaso juhvò nāgnéḥ* 'moving swiftly like the tongues (i.e., flames) of Agni'; 9, 22, 2: *agnér iwa bhramā výthā* 'impetuous like the flames of Agni'; 4, 6, 10: *tveśāśo agne arcáyaś cáranti śyenāśo ná duvasānāśo ártham* 'thy bright flames, O Agni, move (swiftly) like hawks coursing to their goal'; 4, 6, 5: *drávany asyā vājino ná sókāḥ* 'his flames run like racing horses'; (c) 1, 148, 3: *áśvāśo ná rathyò rārahāṇāḥ* 'coursing like the horses of a chariot'; 10, 119, 3: *ín mā pítā ayam̄sata rátham áśvā iwāśavah* 'the streams (of Soma) drunk (by me) have roused me (as quickly) as swift horses (draw) a chariot'

(cf. preceding verse, *prá vātā iva dódhata ún mā pītā ayam̄sata*); 4, 1, 3: *sákhe sákhāyam abhy ā vāvṛtsvāśūm ná cakrám ráthyeva rámyā* 'carry the friend to us, O friend, with speed, as the two horses of a chariot roll the swift wheel'; 2, 4, 6: *vār ná pathā ráthyeva svānīt* 'who, (Agni,) rushed forth (as swiftly) as water on its path, as the two horses of a chariot'; (d) 9, 69, 6: *súryasyeva raśmáyo drāvayitnávo matsarāsah prasúpah sākúm īrate* 'the torpid (?), intoxicating (streams of Soma) move together, swift like the rays of the sun'; 9, 69, 7: *síndhor iva pravaṇé nimmá āśávo výśacayutā mādāso gātūm āśata* 'the streams of Soma, falling from (the hands of) the priest proceed on their way, swift like the currents of a river down an incline'; 9, 86, 1: *prá ta āśávah pavaṇmāna dñi jávo mādā arṣanti raghujā iva tmánā* 'thy swift, thought-inspiring, intoxicating streams, O Pavaṇmāna, rush forward of themselves like horses born of fleet (sires and dams)'; 1, 5, 7: *ā tvā viśantv āśávah sómāsa indra girvāṇah* 'let the swift streams of Soma enter into you, O Indra fond of praise'; 9, 22, 1: *eté sómāsa āśávo ráthā iva prá vājīnah | sárgāh sr̄ṣṭā aheṣata* 'these swift streams of Soma have moved (as swiftly) as racing chariots, (as) horses unloosed'; (e) 1, 143, 5: *ná yó várāya marútām iva svanáh seneva sr̄ṣṭā dívyā yáthāśániḥ* 'that, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile sent on its way, like the thunderbolt of heaven, can not be stopped'; 6, 6, 5: *ádha jihvā pāpatīti prá výśno goṣuyúdho nāśániḥ sr̄jānā* 'then speeds the flame of the bull (sc. Agni) like the missile hurled by the fighter for cows'; 1, 116, 1: *yāv árbhagāya vimádāya jāyām senājúvā nyūhátū ráthena* 'who (two) brought a wife to the young Vimada in a chariot that is as swift as a missile.'

pṛthak therefore signifies in 10, 91, 7 and similar verses 'swiftly', 'rapidly', 'quickly,' 'impetuously,' etc., a meaning which suits the context. It has this meaning in the following passages:

2, 17, 3 : *ádhākrṇoh prathamām viryām mahād
yād asyāgre brāhmaṇā śuṣmām aīrayah |
rathesṭhēna hāryaśvena vīcyutāḥ
prā jīrāyah sisrate sadhryāk pīthak ||*

“ Then didst thou, (O Bṛhaspati) perform (thy) first valiant deed when thou, before this (Indra), didst shatter the powerful (Vala) with thy spell. The swift (Waters) released by (Indra), who was in his chariot (and) who has tawny horses, rush forward together impetuously.”

There are some difficulties in the first half of this verse. The release of the Waters mentioned in the second half-verse indicates that the valiant deed (*mahād viryām*) of the first half-verse refers to the overthrow of the demon that had imprisoned them; compare 2, 22, 1 : *sā īm mamāda máhi kárma kártae mahām urūm saīnām
saścad devō devām satyām índram satyā induh*; 2, 24, 14 : *brāhmaṇas pāter abhavat yathācasām satyō manyūr máhi
kárma kariṣyatāḥ* where also the phrase *máhi kárma* refers to such overthrow; cf. also 3, 33, 7 : *pravācyām
saśvadhā viryām tād índrasya kárma yād áhīm vīryscāt |
vī vājraṇa pāriṣādo jaghānāyanām áphóyanam icchāmānāḥ*. I therefore take *śuṣma* as referring to the demon that imprisoned the Waters, and *aīrayah* in the sense of shattering, destroying—a sense which the word has in the preceding verse but one, *vīśā yād gotrā sáhaśā
pārivṛtā máde sómasya dīmhitāny aīrayat*. The mention of *brāhmaṇ* as the instrument used for shattering shows (comp. 2, 24, 3 *úd gā ājād ábhīnād brāhmaṇā valām*) that the first half-verse is addressed to Bṛhaspati who is known as *brahmaṇas pāti* or ‘lord of spells.’ It is indeed possible to interpret, as Oldenberg has in fact done (*RI. Noten* I, p. 201), the first half-verse also as being addressed to Indra. But this seems to me however to be a somewhat forced interpretation, and I prefer to regard this verse as belonging to the type of verses (cf. 1, 62, 4) whose two halves refer to Indra and Bṛhaspati respectively, and to interpret it as above.

The word *asya* in the second pāda seems to refer to Indra and the words *asya agre* to be equivalent to *asya purah*. Bṛhaspati is, as we know from 2, 24, 9 and the Yajus texts (TS. 6, 4, 10 ; MS. 4, 6, 3 ; KS. 27, 8) the purohita of the gods (*devāḥ*) and therefore of their chief, Indra, also. Now, the chief function of the king's purohita is, as laid down by Indian writers, the removal, by means of magical spells, of all evils whether caused by human or by extrahuman agency. These writers therefore lay particular stress on the necessity of having as purohita one that is well-versed in Atharvaṇic spells ; see, for instance, Kautilya's Arthaśāstra 1, 8, 5 (p. 15) : *purohitam uditoditakulaśilam ṣadāṅge vede daive nimitte ḍaṇḍanītyāṁ ca abhivinītāṁ, āḍadāṁ daivamānuṣīṇāṁ atharvabhir upāyaiś ca pratikartāraṁ kurvīta* ; Mahābhārata 12, 73, 30-31 : *bhārgavāṅgirasaṁ vede kṛtavīdyāḥ ṣadāṅgavīt || yajñakarmavidhijñās tu vidhijñāḥ pauṣṭikeṣu ca | aṣṭādaśavikalpānāṁ vidhijñāḥ sāntikarmāṇāṁ || sarvarogavīhīnaś ca saṃyutāḥ saṃyatendriyāḥ | (purohitāḥ kāryāḥ)* ; Yajñavalkyasmṛti 1, 313 : *purohitāṁ prakurvīta daivajñām uditoditam | ḍaṇḍanītyāṁ ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā* ; see also ch. II of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā. An efficient purohita therefore was able to destroy all evils and enemies that threatened the king ; compare the following ślokas :¹ *upāpānnāṁ nanu śivāṁ saptasv aṅgeṣu yasya me | daivināṁ mānuṣīṇāṁ ca pratikartā tvam āḍadām ||60|| tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśāmitāribhīḥ | pratyādiśyanta iva me dṛṣṭalakṣyabhidaḥ śarāḥ* addressed by king Dilīpa to his purohita Vasiṣṭha in the Raghuvamśa (I. 60, 61). In the light of these passages we can now understand better the role played by Bṛhaspati in the incidents referred to by the RV. The

¹ It is likewise useful to compare the preceding śloka also :

*athātharvanidhes tasya vijitāripurah purah |
arthyāṁ arthaśpatir vācam ādade vadatām varah ||59||*

Note also the close agreement in word as well as in meaning of these verses with the passage from Kautilya given above.

chant or shout (*arka*, *brahman*, *rava*, *virava*, *kranda*, *stanita*, etc.) with which he destroyed the demon and set free the cows and waters (see Bergaigne I, 302; Boyer, *J.A.*, 1906, I, p. 401ff.) represents the magical spell or *mantra* which he, as purohita, used in favour of his patron Indra against his foes. His comparison too, with a 'lion roaring in his den' in 10, 67, 9 (*śimhām iva nānadatām sadhāsthe*) is one that is pregnant with meaning. The lion, it is believed, kills other animals by its mere roar; compare the *Jātaka* stories No. 152² and 241³ and the following sentences in Müller's translation of the first six stories of the *Piśācaprakarayam* which is without doubt derived from an Indian original (ZDMG., 48, pp. 198 ff.):

(Pages 205, 206) "Jener Löwen-König besass ungeheure Stärke. Er pflegte in den Wald zu gehen und die Thiere durch sein Gebrüll zu tödten";

(Page 206) "Denn jener Löwen-König pflegt, wenn er sein Gebrüll ausgestossen hat, und irgend ein Thier gestorben ist";

(Page 216) "Da ward der Löwen-König, der Grossvater jener Prinzessin, zornig. Er stiess ein Gebrüll aus, da starben Sangvathan [a jackal-king] und sein gesammtes Gefolge";

and as a purohita performs his *śāntika*, *pausṭika* and *ābhicārika* ceremonies in his *yāgaśālā*, and as the mantras used therein kill the enemies even though they be afar, the comparison of these mantras with

² *Sīho . . . tikkhattum sīhanādām nadi. Paṭhaviyā saddhīm ākāsām ekaninnādām ahosi. Sigālassa phalikaguhāya nipañnass'eva bhitatasitassa hadayām phali. So tatth'eva jīvitakkhayām pāpuni.* (p. 8)

³ *Sīho . . . tikkhattum appativattiyām sīhanādām nadi . . . te pi hatthi sīhanādām sutvā maranabhayaṭajitā aññamaññām ovijjhītā tatth' eva jīvitakkhayām pāpuniṁsu. Thaṭpetvā sihe sesāpi migasūkarādayo sasabilālaṭariyosānā sabbe catuppadā tatth' eva jīvitakkhayām pāpuniṁsu . . . Dvādasayojaniko māṁsarāśi ahosi.* (p. 245)

the roar of a lion, and of the purohita Br̥haspati with a lion roaring in his den is singularly felicitous. Another figure of speech compares these rites and ceremonies which he performs to a *ratha* or war-chariot, in 2, 23, 3, which represents Br̥haspati as mounted on the chariot of rite (*ṛtasya ratham*) which destroys enemies, slays demons, shatters the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows and wins the light.

Sāyaṇa, who as usual takes *pṛthak* to mean 'in different ways,' has ingeniously attempted to explain away the consequent contradiction here between *sadhryāk* and *pṛthak* by saying that the 'going in different ways' was caused by fear—*vicyutāḥ svasthānāc cyāvitāḥ santāḥ sadhryāk sadhṛīcīnāḥ pāraspārasaṁgatāḥ pṛthak bhītyā vijuktāḥ santāḥ pṛasirāt pṛakarṣṇā dhaśvanti*. It is however the nature of Waters to flow together; compare 4, 47, 2: *yuvāṁ hī yántīndavo nimmām āpo nā sadhryāk*; and 5, 60, 3: *āpa iva sadhryāñco dhaśadhwē*; and the Waters (or Rivers) released by Indra are in many places said to have moved swiftly forward; cf. 1, 32, 2: *vāśrā iva dhenāvāḥ syāndamānā āñjaḥ samudrām āva jagmūr āpāḥ* 'running, like lowing cows (to their calves), the waters went straight to the sea'; 1, 130, 5: *tvām vṛthā nadīyā indra sārtavē 'cchā samudrām asījo ráthān iva vājayatō ráthān iva* 'thou hast released the rivers, O Indra, to run to the sea impetuously like chariots, like racing chariots'; 2, 15, 3: *vājreṇā khāny aṭṛṇān nadīnām | vṛthāsṛjat pāthīvīr dirghayāthāiḥ* 'with the Vajra he bored openings for the rivers and let them loose (to flow) in long-extended paths'; 4, 17, 3: *vādhīd vṛtrām vājreṇā mandasānāḥ sārann āpo járasā hatāvṛṣṇīḥ* 'exulting he killed Vṛtra with the Vajra: the waters, whose lord was killed, rushed forth swiftly'; and specially, 10, 111, 9-10: *sṛjāḥ sindhūnār āhinā jagrasnān ād id etāḥ pṛā vīvijre javēna | mūmukṣamānā utā yā munucré 'dhēd etā nā ramante nītiktāḥ | sadhṛīcīḥ sindhum uśatīr ivāyan* 'thou didst deliver the Rivers swallowed by the dragon

and these sped forth swiftly—those desiring to be free as well as those that were freed; the swift ones do not stop; like loving (wives) they went to the sea together.' It should be noted that both the ideas of 'going together' and 'going swiftly' are given expression to in this last-quoted passage.

8, 100, 7: *prá nūkám dhiāvatā pýthau
néhá yó vo ávāvarīt |
ní śīm vṛtrásya mármāni
vájram índro apīpatat ||*

"Run forth now swiftly; he is not now who had detained you. Indra has hit Vṛtra in his vital parts with the Vajra." This is, as is evident, an address to the Waters.

3, 56, 4: *abhīka āsām padavír abhīdhy
ādityānām ahve cāru nāma |
āpaś cid asmā aramanta devīh
pýthag vṛájantih pári śīm aṣvūjan ||*

The meaning of this verse is not quite clear; I translate tentatively: "Their leader became known in the fight; I have invoked the sweet name of the Ādityas. Even the immortal Waters stopped for him; moving swiftly, they left (him)." With regard to the third pāda, compare 2, 30, 1: *índrāyāhīghnē ná ramanta āpaḥ*. The fourth pāda seems to refer to the same situation as 7, 21, 3: *tvám indra srávitavā apáh kah páriṣhitā áhinā sūra pūrvīh | tvád vāvakre rathyò ná dhénā réjante vīśvā kṛtrīmāni bhīṣā* and 4, 22, 6: *ádhā'ra tvád vṛṣamāṇo bhyānāh prá sindhavo jávāsā cakramanta*.

2, 24, 14: *bráhmaṇas páter abhāvad yathāvasáṁ
satyó manyúr máhi kármā kariṣyatáh |
yó gā úd ājat sá dīcē zí cabbajan
mahīva rītih sávāsāsarat pýthak ||*

"The powerful spell of Brahmaṇaspati who was engaged in a great work had its own way (i.e., acted as desired); (he) who drove forth the cows gave it to heaven; (the herd of cows) like a great current went

forward impetuously with strong force." 'The great work' refers, as I have said above, to the overthrowing of the demon that has imprisoned the waters and cows. The *iva* in the fourth pāda, though apparently an *upamā-vācaka*, seems really to be used in the sense of *ca*, that is, as a *samuccaya-vācaka* with the force of 'and'; for Brhaspati sets free, not only cows, but the waters also. Compare 2, 23, 18: *táva śrīvē tv àjihita páravato gávām̄ gotrám úd asyjo yád aṅgirah | índrenā yujā támasā párīvṛtam̄ býhaspate nír apām̄ aubjo arṇat ám*; see also 6, 73, 3; 2, 24, 73-4.

9, 86, 2: *prá te mādāso madirāsa āśávo'*
'sṛkṣata ráthyāso yáthā pṛthak |
dhenūr ná vatsám̄ páyasābhí vajrīyam̄
índram índavo mādhumanta ūrmáyah ||

"Thy swift, gladdening streams (O Soma), ran forth impetuously like the horses of a chariot. The sweet-bearing streams (have run) towards Indra, the Vajra-bearer, as a cow with milk runs to its calf."

10, 44, 6: *pṛthak prāyan prathamā devahūtayó*
'kṛṇata śravasyāni duṣṭára |
ná yé śekūr yajñīyām̄ nāvam̄ ārūham̄
īrmaitvá té ny àvīsanta kēpayaḥ ||

This verse is somewhat obscure. I translate, following Yāska (*Nirukta*, 5, 25, 1): "The first invokers of the gods sped forth swiftly and performed famous (deeds) difficult to surpass; the wicked people who were unable to get upon the ship of sacrifice, stayed here only."

10, 91, 7: *vātopadhūta iṣitó vásān ánu*
tṛṣú yád ánnā véviṣad vitiṣṭhase |
ā te yatante rathyo yáthā pṛthak
súrdhānasy agne ajárāyi dhákṣataḥ ||

"When thou, O Agni, being fanned by the wind, extendest thyself rapidly, following thy desires, and reachest forth eagerly after food, the unaging flames of thee, that art burning, move forward swiftly like the horses of a chariot."

10, 142, 4 : *yád udváto niváto yási bápsat
pýthag eṣi pragardhínīva sénā |
yadā te vāto anu tāti śocir
vápteva śmásru vāpasi prá bhúma ||*

“When thou goest, devouring, over ups and downs, thou movest as quickly as a swift missile. When the wind is blowing behind thy flame, thou shavest the earth as a barber the moustache.” *pragardhínī* (meaning, literally, ‘greedy’) = swift here; compare the similar use of the words *grdhnú* and *gídhyantam* in 1, 70, 11 : *sādhúr ná grdhnúḥ* ‘swift like an excellent (horse)’ and 4, 38, 5 : *padbhír gídhyantam medhayúm ná śúram* ‘speeding with a will, like a valiant soldier in battle’. Regarding the transition of meaning from ‘greedy’ to ‘swift,’ compare the analogous words *trṣú* ‘thirsty, swift’ and *tātṛṣāṇyá* ‘thirsting, swift-moving’ in 6, 66, 10 cited above and 2, 4, 6 : *ā yó vánā tātṛṣāṇó ná bhāti vār
ṇá pathā ráthyeva scānīt*. Compare also in this connection 1, 143, 5 and other verses cited above (p. 139) about the swiftness of the missile and the expressions ‘swift as an arrow; quick as a dart; pfeil-schnell’ and other similar ones in English and German.

10, 101, 4 : *sīrā yuñjanū kaváyo
yugā vī tanvate pýthak |
dlīrā devéṣu sumnayā ||*

“The wise put the ploughs together; the clever, desiring the grace of the gods, quickly make ready the yokes.”

AV. 11, 5, 13 : *agnau śúrye candrámasi mātariśvan
brahmačāry āpsú samídhām ā dadlāti |
tāsām arcimśi pýthag abhré caranti
tāsām ājyam púruṣo varṣám āpah ||*

“In the fire, in the sun, in the moon, in Mātariśvan, in the waters, the Vedic student puts fuel. Their gleams go quickly to the cloud; their sacrificial butter is man,

rain, waters." Compare Manusmṛti III, 76: *agnau
prastāhutih samyag ādityam upaṭiṣṭhate | ādityāj jāyate
vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annam tataḥ pṛajāḥ.*

AV. 7, 45, 2: *agnér ivāsyā dāhato dāvāsyā dāhataḥ pṛthak |
etām etāsyerṣyām udnāgnim itaśamaya ||*

"Extinguish, as (one does) fire with water, this man's jealousy which is burning impetuously (*i.e.*, fiercely) like fire, like forest-fire."

AV. 4, 15, 2: *sām iksayantu tavisāḥ sudānato
'pām rásā óṣadhibhīḥ sacantām |
varṣāsyā sárgā mahayantu bhūmīm
pṛthag jāyantām óṣadhayo viśvárūpāḥ ||*

"Let the strong liberal ones (*sc.* the Maruts) cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

AV. 4, 15, 3: *sām iksayasva gāyato nābhāmsy
apām vēgāsah pṛthag úd vijantām |
varṣāsyā sárgā mahayantu bhūmīm
pṛthag jāyantām óṣadhayo viśvárūpāḥ ||*

"Do thou make the singers behold the clouds together; let the swift streams of water rush out rapidly; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

Whitney in his *Translation* (p. 172) renders *pṛthak* in these passages as 'here and there;' and gives a note, after verse 4, that "pṛthak, lit. 'severally, separately' is used in these verses rather in the sense of 'all about, everywhere'." It seems to me that it is preferable to accept here (for verses 2 and 3) the meaning, 'quickly, rapidly' established for *pṛthak* above, and that this makes it unnecessary to suggest a third meaning, 'all about, everywhere,' for it. With regard to verse 4, the meaning *nānā*, 'severally,' may be considered to suit well here and also in AV. 3, 19, 6 and 5, 20, 7, where, too, the

words *pr̥thak* and *ghoṣa* (in 5, 20, 7 its synonym *dhvanayah*) occur. A better sense, however, is yielded by these passages if we interpret *pr̥thak* here as 'strong', a meaning which is a development from that of 'rapid, quick, impetuous'; see *Vedische Studien* I, p. 47 and 97 for numerous examples of such development. I would therefore translate these verses as follows:

AV. 4, 15, 4 : *gaṇāś tvóḥa gāyantu mārūtāḥ*
parjanya ghoṣīṇāḥ pṛthak |
sārgā varṣasya vāṛṣato
vāṛṣantu pṛthivīm ánu ||

"Let the troops of Maruts that shout strongly sing to thee, O Parjanya; let gushes of raining rain rain along the earth." Shouting strongly is a characteristic of the Maruts that is frequently mentioned in the RV; compare for instance 1, 64, 8: *siṁhā ivā nānādati prācetasāḥ*; 1, 85, 2: *árvanto arkāṁ janāyanta indriyām* *ādhi śrīyo dadhīr pṛśnimātarāḥ*; 5, 54, 12: *svāranti ghōṣām* *vītātām* *ṛtāyāvāḥ*; compare also, 1, 169, 7; 3, 26, 5, and Bergaigne II, 373.

AV. 3, 19, 6 : *úd dhārṣantām maghāvan vājināny*
úd vīrāṇām jáyatām etu ghōṣāḥ |
pṛthag ghōṣā ululāyāḥ
ketumānta úd īratām |
devā indrajyeṣṭ!ā marūto yantu sénayā ||

"Let their energies be excited, O bounteous one; let the shout of the conquering heroes arise; let strong shouts and clear jubilant cries go up; let the divine Maruts with Indra as chief go with the army." To *pṛthag ghōṣāḥ* in this verse corresponds *dyumāṇ* *ghōṣāḥ* in 10, 84, 4. *dyumāntām* *ghōṣām* *vijayāya kṛṇu* *mahe*.

AV. 5, 20, 7 : *antarémé nábhāsī ghōṣo astu*
pṛthak te dhvānayo yantu śibham !
abhi kranda stanāyotpīpānah
ślokakīn mitratūryāya swardhī ||

“Let there be noise between these two firmaments ; let thy sounds go swift and strong ; roar (at them), thunder, truculent, resounding unto the victory of our friends, a good partizan.” The last half-verse is unintelligible to me and I have therefore repeated here the translation of Whitney.

pṛthak has the sense of *nānā* in the other RV passages where it occurs, namely, in 1, 131, 2 ; 1, 157, 1 ; 8, 43, 18 and 8, 43, 29.

1, 131, 2 : *vīśveṣu hí tvā sávaneṣu tuñjáte*
samānám ékam vṛṣamanyavah pṛthak
svāh sániṣayavah pṛthak |
tám tvā návam ná parṣáṇim
śūṣásya dhurí dhimahi |
índram ná yajñaiś citáyanta āyávah
stómebhur índram āyávah ||

“(They) call urgently to thee in all Soma-libations—
 thee that art one and common, the people with excellent
 hymns (of praise), desiring to attain light, (call upon)
 separately. We people, glorifying Indra with praises as
 with sacrifices, place at the head of the strong (hymn),
 thee, that, like a ship, carriest us across.”

1, 157, 1 : *ábodhy agnír jmá úd eti súryo*
vy ûṣāś candrá mahy àvo arciṣā |
āyukṣatām aśvīnā yátave rátham
prásāvid deváh savitā jágat pṛthak ||

“Agni has awaked ; the sun rises from the earth ;
 the bright dawn has opened heaven and earth with her
 light ; the (two) Aśvins have yoked their chariot for
 going ; the divine Savitṛ has impelled the world
 individually (to action).”

8, 43, 18 : *túbhyaṁ tā aṅgirastama*
víśvāh sukṣitáyah pṛthak |
ágne kāmāya yemire ||

"Thee, O best of Aṅgirases, have all those people with good dwelling-houses, attached to themselves, separately, in order to obtain their desires, O Agni."

8, 43, 29: *tūbhyaṁ ghēt té jānā imē
viśvāḥ sukṣitāyah pṛthak |
dhāśīṁ hinvanty áttave ||*

"All these people with good dwelling-houses (O Agni) have separately impelled thee to eat the food." The words *viśvāḥ sukṣitāyah* in these two verses though literally meaning 'all (people) that have good dwelling-houses' seem to be used in the sense of 'all (people) possessed of houses, i.e. householders'; *viśvāḥ sukṣitāyah* thus = *viśve gr̥hapatāyah*, *viśvesu gr̥heṣu naraḥ*, *gr̥he gr̥he naraḥ*. Compare 5, 14, 4; 10, 91, 2; 1, 128, 4; 4, 7, 3; etc.

Thus the meaning of *pṛthak* is 1. (a) quick, rapid, impetuous; (b) strong; and 2. separately, differently, diversely, variously.

Likewise, the root *pṛth*, from which the word *pṛthak* is without doubt derived, and its derivative *pṛthu* seem also to signify 'to rush, to move quickly or swiftly' and 'swift' respectively. Regarding the latter word, namely *pṛthu*, it is the first member of the compound *pṛthuprajña* which is given in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Mironow's ed.; 48) as a synonym of *āśuprajña*, *javanaprajña*, *tikṣṇaprajña*, *gambhiraprajña*, etc. This seems to indicate that *pṛthu* in *pṛthuprajña* means *āśu* or *javana*.

§ 9

yakṣam

yakṣá (neuter) is a somewhat difficult word that occurs about thirty times in the Vedic texts and that has not so far been satisfactorily explained by the exegetists. The explanations proposed for this word by the earlier

ones are collected by Geldner on pp. 126, 127 of the *Vedische Studien*, Vol. 3, in the beginning of the article which he has written on this word. Geldner has there, after giving expression to the opinion that none of these explanations is satisfactory, come to the conclusion (p. 143) that *yakṣá* means I. (a) Erstaunen, Verwunderung, Neugierde; (b) Wunder, Rätsel; 2. Wunder, Kunststück, Zauber, (a) Hexerei, Zauberei; (b) Verzauberung; Verwandlung; (c) Gaukelei, Blendwerk, Illusion; (d) Wunderkraft, Wunderkur, Heilzauber; 3. Gegenstand der Bewunderung oder Neugierde, Kuriosität, (a) Wundertier; (b) Schaustück, Fest; (c) Naturwunder wie grosse Bäume u.s.w. M. Boyer who has likewise written an article on this word in the *Journal Asiatique* (1906, I, pp. 393-477), sees no necessity for the acceptance of this long array of meanings. Following the explanation of Roth (übernatürliches Wesen, geisterhafte Erscheinung) and Bergaigne (apparition surnaturelle), he thinks that *yakṣá* denotes only 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' *une forme (visible de fait ou concue comme telle) propre à étonner le regard*, and has, in his above-mentioned article, attempted to show that the meaning *fantôme, apparition, apparition merveilleuse, merveille*, fits in best with the context and is sufficient to explain every passage in which the word occurs. Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 44) agrees with M. Boyer in thinking that there is no necessity for a long series of meanings, and that one meaning is enough to explain all the passages in which the word occurs. This one meaning, however, is according to Oldenberg, 'wunderbare geheimnisvolle (darum häufig unheimliche) Wesenheit' and not 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder' as proposed by M. Boyer. And this seems now to be the opinion of Geldner also who in his latest book (*RV. Ueb.r.*) remarks, in connection with the verse 4, 3, 13, 'yakṣám; Heimlichkeit oder Blendwerk. *yakṣá* ist etwas Geheimnisvolles oder

Wunderbares,' and thus seems to have abandoned his former suggestion in favour of that of Oldenberg. On the other hand, Hillebrandt has,¹ in his recently written article on this word (*Festgabe für Richard von Garbe*, pp. 17-23), explained it as 1. Zauberding, Zauberwesen (RV), unheimliches Wesen (Kauś. S); 2. übernatürliches grosses Wesen höherer Art (AV); 3. yakṣa [i. e., guhyaka or follower of Kubera] (AV. XI, 6, 10 and Gobh. G.S. 3, 4, 281).

The attempt to dispense with a long array of meanings and to make one meaning suffice for all passages is without doubt laudable; but it seems to me that in saying that this meaning is a 'wonderful, mysterious (and therefore sinister) being' or 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' the savants above-named have not quite hit the mark, and that these meanings do not, any more than those proposed by Geldner, fit in a number of passages, *e.g.*, in RV. 10, 88, 13; AV. 8, 9, 8 and 11, 2, 24; Śat. Br. 12, 2, 3, 5. I propose therefore to investigate anew here the meaning of this word *yakṣa*.

It is necessary for me to begin first by referring to the close correspondence that exists between the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* in post-Vedic literature. In this literature, *yakṣa* like *bhūta*, denotes a class of superhuman beings known as *devayonayah* in Sanskrit literature (*cf.* Amarakośa, 1, 11: *vidyādharo 'psaro-yakṣa-rakṣo-gandharva-kinnarāḥ* | *piśācō guhyakāḥ siddho bhūto 'mī devayonayah*), and as *vrantaráḥ* in Jaina literature (*cf.* Uttarādhhyayana, p. 1084: *piśāvā bhūyā jakkhā ya rakkhasā kinnarā ya kimpurisā* | *mahorāga ya gandharvā aṭṭhavīhā vāyamantarā* and *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, 4, 12). These beings are represented as dwelling in unoccupied houses, in

¹ He has also referred to Hertel's explanation of the word as 'Licht, Feuer' on p. 43 of his *Die Arische Feuerlehre* Vol. I, a book which is inaccessible to me.

trees, forests or woods, ponds, etc., which are then said to be possessed, *adhiṣṭhita*, by them; compare Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 143, *Jātaka* stories, No. 154 and 155, and Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 36, and Index, s.v. *yakṣa*. To *Yakṣas* as to *Bhūtas*², temples were built, adoration paid and *bali* offered; and festivals, *yātrāḥ* or *utsavāḥ*, were instituted in their honour. They were invoked in times of danger, and vows were taken in honour of them at such times and also when people prayed for the fulfilment of any desire. Compare for instance the following passages from the *Jñātādharmakathā* :—

(p. 417) *Rāyagihassa ṣayarassa bahiyā ṣāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya indāṇi ya khundāṇi ya ruddāṇi ya sivāṇi ya vesāṇi ya vesamaṇāṇi ya tattha ṣām bahuyāṇi ṣāgapaḍimāṇi ya jāva vesamaṇapaḍimāṇi ya mahariham pūphhaccāṇiyāṇi karettā jāṇu-pāya-vaḍiyā evāṇ vayittā jai ṣām ahaṁ devāṇupṛiyā dāragāṁ vā dārigāṁ vā pāyāyāmi teṇāṁ ahaṁ tumhāṁ jāyāṁ ca dāyāṁ ca bhāyāṁ ca akkhaya-ṇihim ca anuvaṭṭemi.*

² The investigations of anthropologists have shown that belief in the existence, and worship, of evil spirits (demons) plays a prominent role in the religious speculations and practices of primitive people everywhere in the world; and the opinion has been expressed by writers on Vedic religion and mythology that such belief and worship were prevalent among the Āryans of Rgvedic times. Thus Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, p. 55f.) believes that the existence of such belief and practice is unmistakably indicated by certain details of the Vedic cult; and Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, III, p. X) says that the belief in the existence of evil spirits is met with to a small extent in the RV, and that the worship too of evil spirits must have been prevalent at the time though, as he thinks, no trace of such worship is to be seen in the RV. As we know from later literature that the worship of *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* was general and wide-spread, it is permissible to infer that the worship of evil spirits in Rgvedic times too must have, to a great extent, consisted in the worship of *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas*, or at least, that *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* were included in the evil spirits that received worship in the time of the RV.

[Bhadrā, wife of the caravan-leader, *sārthavāha*, Dhanya, thinks] “Outside the city of Rājagṛha are the temples of Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva, Veṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa. There after a grand worship with flowers of the images of Nāgas, etc., up to Vaiśravaṇa, and after falling on the knees, saying thus: ‘If, now, O beloved of the gods, I shall give birth to a son or a daughter, I shall then establish a worship of you, make gifts to you, appoint portions for you, and shall establish a permanent fund ³ for you.’”

(p. 409) *jūya-khalayāni ya vesāgārāni ya siṅghādagāni ya tayāni ya caukkāni ya caccarāni ya nāgarāgharāni ya bhūya-gharāni ya jakkha-deūlāni ya* [The robber Vijaya was in the habit of visiting and wandering through] “Gambling-dens, drink-saloons, courtesans’ houses, places where three, four, and more roads meet, temples of Nāgas, Bhūtas, and Yakṣas”

(p. 758) *bhīyā sañjāyabhāyā aṇṇam-aṇṇa-kāyam samatūraṅgemāṇā bahūṇam indāni ya khandāni ya rudda-sivāvesamāṇa-yāgāṇam bhūyāṇa ya jakkhāṇa ya aja-kotṭakiri- yāṇa ya bahūṇi uvāiyā-saāi uvāimamāṇā ciṭṭhanti* [Some merchants, when threatened by an evil spirit, *mahāpiśāca*, while travelling on a ship in the midst of the sea, become anxious, and] “Feeling fear and apprehension, and embracing each other (for support) are offering many offerings to many Indras, Skandas, Rudras, Śivas, Vaiśravaṇas, Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Āryās and Kotṭakriyās.” ⁴

(p. 212, 213) *uggā uggaṭuttā bhogā bhogaputtā evam rāiṇnā khattiyā māhaṇā bhaḍā johā nīhāyā sirasā kāṇṭhe mālakāḍā āviddha-māṇi-suvāṇnā kāppiyyā-*

³ Wherewith, explains the commentator Abhayacandra, the charges for renovating the temple, etc., may be met.

⁴ The commentator explains *āyāh* as *praśānta-rūpā* *duṛgāh* and *kotṭakriyāh* as *saiva mahiṣārūdha-rūpā*, that is, perhaps, fierce in aspect.

hāraddhahāra-tisaraya-palamba- palambamāṇa- kāṭisuttayā sukaya-sobhābharaṇā vattha-pavara-pahiriyyā candanorālitta-gāya-sarīrā aṭṭegaiyā hayagayā evam̄ gaya-raha-sibiyasandamāṇi-gayā . . . Rāyagiha-ṇagarassa majjhām̄ egadisim̄ egāhimukhā ṇigacchanti⁵ . . . kiṇṇam̄ bho devā-ṇuppiyā ajja Rāyagihe ṇayare indamahe vā khandamahe vā evam̄ rudda-siva-vesamāṇa-ṇāga-jakkha-bhūya-ṇadī-taṭāya-rukkha-ceiya-pavaya-ujjāṇa-giri-jattāi vā jaṇam̄ ugga-bhogā jāvā egadisim̄ egābhīmukhā ṇigacchanti.

[Prince Megha sees one day] “Ugras, ugraputras, bhogas, bhogaputras, and likewise, persons born in royal families, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, king's servants, warriors, who had bathed, who were wearing garlands on their heads and necks and ornaments of gold and jewels, who were decked with *hāras*, *ardhahāras*, *trisarakas*, *pralambas* and *kaṭisūtras*,⁶ and other well-made brilliant ornaments, who were wearing very fine clothes and had their bodies anointed with sāndal, some mounted on horses, some on elephants, chariots and palanquins, moving in Rājagṛha in one direction, to one goal, and calling one of his entourage, inquires ‘What, O beloved of the gods, is there to-day in Rājagṛha a festival (*utsava*) in honour of Indra or Skanda or Śiva, Rudra, Vaiśravaṇa, or a nāga, yakṣa or bhūta or a *yātrā* to a river or pond or tree, temple, mountain, garden or hill, that the ugras, bhogas, etc., are going out in one direction, to one goal?’ ”

The temples of Yakṣas were known as *yakṣāyatana* (cp. Jñātā., p. 528, *surappiye ṇāmām̄ jakkhāyatane*), *yakṣadevakula* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 409, *jakkhadeuḷāṇi ya*),

⁵ This *varṇaka* is not given in the text; the commentator has, however, extracted it from one of the preceding five Āṅgasūtras and reproduced it in his commentary (p. 208f. of the edition).

⁶ These are different kinds of necklaces worn round the neck. A *trisaraka* is a necklace that has three strings.

yakṣagrha or *yakṣabhavana* (cp. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, comm. on p. 162, *Rājagrīhe Viraprabhodyāne Maṇināyakasya yakṣabhavane uttirṇah*), *yakṣaprāsāda* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 347, *Maṇdika-yakṣa-prāsāda*) or *yakṣa* simply (compare *Jñātā.*, p. 417, *nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya*, 'temples of *nāgas*, *bhūtas*, and *yakṣas*'; *Vipākasūtra*, p. 176, *Bhaṇḍīre uyyāne Sudarisaṇe jakkhe* 'Bhaṇḍīra park; the *yakṣa*-temple named *Sudarisaṇa*'; *ibid.*, p. 213, *Soriya-jakkho*, 'the *yakṣa*-temple known as *Soriya*'); and those of *bhūtas* were known as *bhūtagṛha* (cp. *Jñātā.*, p. 409, *bhūyagharāṇi ya*) or simply *bhūta* (cp. *Jñātā.*, p. 417, *nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya* cited above). The generic term *caitya* was used to denote either class of temples--those of *yakṣas* or of *bhūtas*: compare *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, p. 162, *Antarañjikāpuryām bhūtagṛham caityam*; *yakkha-cetiyāni* in *Budhaghoṣa*'s *Sumaṅgalavilāsī* on *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 1. 4; and *Abhayacandra*'s explanation of *caitya* as *vyantarāyatanam* in his commentary on the *Jñātā.*, p. 7. These *caityas* seem to have played a prominent part in the religious life of the city or town in which they were situated. In the Jaina-sūtras specially, one finds that whenever the name of a town or city is mentioned, the name of the *caitya* situated in it is also almost invariably mentioned; see, for instance, *Jñātā.*, p. 1509, 1515ff. and *Vipākasūtra*, pp. 241ff.⁷ The Buddhist Pali books too sometimes mention *caityas* in connection with towns; e.g., the *Suppatiṭṭha-cetiya* in *Rājagrīha* is mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Mahāvagga*, I, 22, 1; and the *Cāpāla*, *Udena*, *Sattambaka*, and *Bahuputta cetiyas* in *Vesāli* are mentioned in *Digha.*, *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 3. 1. So

⁷The worship of *yakṣas* and *yakṣinīs* still forms part of Jain religious observances. Read in this connection the introduction to the second edition of the "Śravana-Belgola Inscriptions" (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II) with its frequent allusions to *yakṣas*; see also Plate 17 therein.

also do some Buddhist votive inscriptions⁸ at Bharaut, Nāsik and other places. They are occasionally mentioned in the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and other Brāhmaṇical books also; compare, for instance, the Rāmāyaṇa, 2, 56, 33: *caityāny āyatanāni ca . . . sthāpayāmāsa Rāghavāḥ*; 2, 71, 42: *devāyatana-caityeṣu dīnāḥ pakṣi-mṛgāś tathā*; 2, 3, 18: *devāyatana-caityeṣu*; 2, 17, 16. *caityamś cāyata-nāni ca | pradakṣiṇām pariḥaran*; in Agnipurāṇa (apud Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Vratakhandā, ch. 21, p. 344): *caityeṣv āyataṇeṣu ca | devānām cīvā rathyāsu*; in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (apud Hemādri, l.c. p. 353): *kūṭāgāreṣu caityeṣu*; in the Mahābhārata, 2, 102, 33: *devāyatana-caityeṣu prākārāṭṭalakeṣu ca*; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 208, *parvasu ca . . . caitya-pūjāḥ*

⁸ Nos. 693, 699, 987, 988, 1058, 1059, etc., in Lüders' *List of Brāhmaṇi Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X); see Index of Miscellaneous Terms given at the end, s. v. *chetiyaghara* and following words. The words *chetiyaghara* and *caitya* are there explained by Lüders as 'Buddhist building.' Considering however that among the Buddhist inscriptions are two—Nos. 1143 and 871—that record the gift of a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī* (that is, of images of them) and one (No. 1206) that seems to record the gift of a *bhūtāyana* (for *bhūta-paṭa*? stone-slab with the image of a *bhūta* engraved on it), it seems more natural to give the word *caitya* its usual meaning and to understand in these inscriptions a reference to temples of *bhūtas* or *yakṣas*. It is true that such temples have nothing to do with Buddhism or with the life of Buddhists as we know of these from the books; but the gift of images of a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī* referred to above shows clearly that their worship must have been prevalent amongst Buddhists also at that time and this makes it probable that the word *caitya* retains its meaning of 'temple dedicated to *yakṣa* or *bhūta*' in Buddhist inscriptions (and in Buddhist books?) also. It may, in passing, be observed that the personal names also, contained in some of the inscriptions, as for instance, the names Naga, Nāgadatta, Nāgadina, Nāgadeva, Nāgasrī, Nāgapālita; Yakhadina, Yakhadāsi, Yakhī, Yakhila; Bhuta, Bhutarakhita and Bhutapāla (see Index of Personal Names given at the end) bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, and *bhūtas* at that time,

kārayet; p. 243, *pratipannam caityasthāne rātrau . . . upahāram kārayet*; p. 56, *caitya-puṇyasthāna-vana-schubandhāḥ kāryāḥ*. In all these instances, the juxtaposition of the word *devāyatana* shows that the word *caitya* means 'temple of *yakṣa* or *bhūta*' and the compound *devāyatana-caitya* means 'temples dedicated to gods and to evil spirits.' The presiding deity of the Daṇḍapāṇi temple in Benares, that pious devotees visit every day, is also a *yakṣa*, as is related in ch. 32 of the *Kāśikhaṇḍa*.

The worship of *yakṣas* and *bhūtas* is referred to in the Bhagavad-gītā, where it is said in XVII, 4,⁹ and IX, 25¹⁰ that *sāttvika* people worship gods (*deva*), *rājasa* people *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*, and *tāmasa* people, ghosts (*preta*) and hosts of *bhūtas*, and that the worshippers of *bhūtas* go to them while the worshippers of the Lord go to Him. *Yakṣas* and *bhūtas* are both objects of *tarpaṇa* (with water) in the daily *brahma-yajña* rite prescribed for the householder of the first three castes (cp. *Āś. GS.* 3, 4, 1). Similarly, the *bhūtayajña*, which consists in the offering of *bali* to *bhūtas*, (compare TA. 2, 10: *yad bhūtebhyo baliṁ harati tad bhūtayajñam*) is also daily prescribed for such householders (cp. *ibid.*, 3, 1). The *yakṣa-bali* rite¹¹ is referred to by Ujvaladatta in his scholium on the *Uṇādisūtras*, 4, 123, in the Jātaka Stories No. 347 and 455, while its wide prevalence is attested by the common saying *yakṣāmūrūpo baliḥ*: 'As is the *yakṣa*, so is the *bali*' (that is, the *bali* corresponds to the *yakṣa*; if the *yakṣa* is great, the *bali* offered will be considerable: if the *yakṣa* is negligible, the *bali* too is

⁹ *yajante sāttvika devān yakṣarakṣāmsi rājasāḥ !
pretān bhūtagaṇāṁś cānye yajante tāmasā janāḥ ||*

¹⁰ *bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā yānti madyājinopī mām !*

¹¹ It may be observed, that analogous to the *bhūtabali* and *yakṣabali* rites, the *Gṛhyasūtras* speak of a *sarpabali* rite also where *bali* is offered to *sarpas* or snakes (*nāgas*); compare *Āś. GS.* 2, 1 and Nṛsiṁha's *Prayogaśārijāta* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.) pp. 434 ff.

negligible) cited by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Chān. Up. 6, 32 (see also Laukikanyāyāñjali, II, p. 64: *yādṛśo yakṣas tādṛśo baliḥ*). TA. 1, 31, 123 gives details of the Vaiśravaṇa-yajña ceremony in which *bali* is offered to Vaiśravaṇa (*i.e.* Kubera) who is the lord of Yakṣas, but who is, remarkably enough, referred to by the mantra *sarvabhūtādhipataye nama iti* (the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara explains *sarvabhūtānām* alternatively as *yakṣa-guhyakānām*) as the 'lord of all *bhūtas*'.

The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of every month is known as *bhūta-caturdaśī* and is held sacred to the *bhūtas*. On that day are performed *vratas* intended to win the favour of Śiva, lord of the *bhūtas*; see Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 50 ff. That day, however, is held consecrated to the Yakṣas also, and accordingly, on that day are performed the *vratas* in which worship is offered to Yakṣas (namely, the Kṣemavrata, p. 154), and to Vaiśravaṇa, lord of the Yakṣas (p. 155). The Saurapurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 156) prescribes the performance on that day of the Kṛṣṇacaturdaśī-*vrata*, in which the figure of a Yakṣa made of bdellium (*guggula*) should be burnt, and says that in consequence of this *vrata*, the performer goes to the world of the Piṇaka-bearer, that is, of Śiva, the lord of *bhūtas* (*kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśyām yakṣām guggulakām dahet | sa yāti paramām sthānam yatra devah piṇakadhr̥k*).

It may further be mentioned that according to the Purāṇic mythology, Īśāna (or Rudra) the lord of *bhūtas*, and Kubera (or Vaiśravaṇa) the lord of Yakṣas, both dwell in the north in the Himālayas and are neighbours, and that the Jaina writers so closely associated *yakṣas* with *bhūtas* that in a story related in the Jñātādharmakathā (Adhyayana 16, p. 1149) the wives of three Brāhmaṇa brothers are respectively named Nāgasiri, Bhūyasi and Jakkhasiri.¹²

¹² Compare also *Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra*, p. 674: *nāgaheum vā bhuyaheum vā jakkhaheum vā* 'for the purpose of (worshipping) *nāgas*, *bhūtas* or *yakṣas*'.

The details given above show how close is the correspondence between the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* in post-Vedic literature. The correspondence is no less close in Vedic literature also, as can be seen from the comparison of some passages of the Brhad. Upaniṣad. In this Upaniṣad, the word *mahat* is found used as a qualifying epithet in five passages only; in one, it is an epithet of *karma* (1, 4, 15: *mahat puṇyam karma karoti*), while in the other four, it is an epithet of Brahman described as *mahat bhūtam* in two passages (2, 4, 10: *asya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajur-vedah . . . ; 2, 4, 12: idam mahat bhūtam anantam apāram vijñānaghana eva*) and as *mahat yakṣam* in two other sentences occurring in 5, 4, 1 (*sa yo haitan mahat yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmēti; evam etan mahat yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmēti*). In the same way, to the epithet *yakṣasya adhyakṣam* used of Agni Vaiśvānara in RV. 10, 88, 13 corresponds the epithet *bhūtasya adhyakṣah* used in AV. 1, 31, 1 of the four *āśāpālāh* 'lords of the quarters' (of whom Agni is one); compare also *bhūtasya . . . pātir éka āśit* in RV. 10, 121, 1. Similarly, Śat. Br. 11, 2, 3, 5: *mahat dhaiva yakṣam bhavati* corresponds to Āśv. GS. 3, 9, 6: (*snātako vai*) *mahat bhūtam bhavati*; and the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* are used parallelly in TB. 3, 11, 1, 1: *trayīdam antah | viśvam yakṣam viśvam bhūtam viśvam subhūtam*.

It follows then from all this, and especially from the correspondence of *mahat yakṣam* with *mahat bhūtam* in the Upaniṣad passages noted above, that the two words are convertible and that *yakṣa=bhūta*. And it is remarkable that Bhaskarārāya, the famous and most learned Tāntrik writer of the Śakta school, has explained *yakṣam* in AV. 10, 2, 32, as *mahābhūtam*. It seems to have been felt by Roth too that *yakṣa* is equivalent to *bhūta*; for in the PW (s. v. *yakṣa*) he has correctly explained *yakṣa* in AV. 8, 9, 8; RV. 10, 88, 13 and

TB. 3,11,1, as 'die Wesen' and the word *yakṣabhy* in RV. 1, 190, 4, as 'die Wesen tragend, erhaltend.' The commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara, too, has, on the other hand, as we have seen above, explained the word *bhūta* in TA. 1, 31, 123 as *yakṣaguhyaka*.¹³

Now the chief meanings of *bhūta* are (a) being (concrete); such beings in the collective—all beings, the creation, world, universe; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; and (b) being (abstract), essence, substance, virtue, might, power, etc. The meanings 'essence, substance, might, power,' etc., are not given by the lexicographers; but, nevertheless, there can be no doubt that *bhūta* has these meanings quite regularly, for it is derived from the root *bhū*, which means not only 'to be' but also 'to be powerful, to prevail, to predominate, to be master of'; compare the meanings of the cognate words *bhāva* and *prabhāva* and of the allied word *sattva*, which is derived likewise from a root (as) meaning 'to be' and which is a synonym of *bhūta*. And these meanings of *bhūta* are enough, as I shall show now, to explain the sense of the majority of the passages in which the word *yakṣa* occurs. In all such passages, *yakṣa* can be paraphrased as *bhūta* or *sattva*.

Bṛhad. Up. 5, 4: *tad vai tad etad eva tad āśa satyam eva sa yo haitan mahad yakṣam̄ prathamajam̄ veda satyam̄ brahmeti jayatīmāñl̄ lokān̄ jīta in n̄v̄ asāv̄ asad ya evam̄ etan̄ mahad yakṣam̄ prathamajam̄ veda satyam̄ brahmeti satyam̄ hy eva brahma ||*

"That (namely, Brahman), verily, was this (universe); that verily was the Real. He who knows this great first-born being, Brahman, as the Real, conquers these worlds. How could he be conquered who knows that this great

¹³ Compare also in this connection Hillebrandt, I. c., 21, n. 3: "Die Versuchung liegt nahe, es mit *bhūtām̄*, dem es in der Bedeutung nahe steht, wiederzugeben."

first-born being, Brahman, is verily the Real? For Brahman is verily the Real." The epithet 'first-born,' *prathamaja*, seems here to be used in the sense of 'first existing'; compare Brhad. Up. 1, 4, 10: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt*. Compare also TA. 10, 1, 4: *prajāpatih prathamajā ṛtāsyātmānātmānam abhī sām babhūva*.

Kenopaniṣad, 3, 2: *tad dhaiśām vijajñau tebhyo ha prādurbabhūva tan na vyajānanta kim idam yakṣam iti* ||

"It (Brahman) became aware of (this thought of) theirs; it manifested itself before them. They did not know (what it was, and thought within themselves) 'What is this being?'" Hillebrandt (l. c., p. 21) makes out that *yakṣa* refers here to the blade of straw (*trāṇa*) that is mentioned later on. This is a mistake and the context shows clearly that *yakṣa* refers to the being that appeared before the gods.

Similarly, *yakṣa*=being, in the other passages of this *khaṇḍa* where this word recurs.

Jaim. Up. Br. 1, 20, 4 [JAOS. 16, 68]: *tasminn idam sarvam antaḥ | tad yad asminn idam sarvam antas tasmād antar-yakṣam | antar-yakṣam ha vai nāmaitat | tad antarikṣam iti parokṣam ācakṣate* ||

"All this is within it. Because all this is within it therefore is it [called] *antar-yakṣa*. *antar-yakṣa* verily is its name; it is called *antarikṣa* in occult way." *antar-yakṣa*=that which contains all this, that is, all this creation; and the context shows clearly that *yakṣa* here denotes the creation.

Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, 1, 1, 1: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt svayambhūv ekam eva tad aikṣata mahad vai yakṣam tad ekam evāsmi hantāham mad eva manūmātram dvitīyam devam nirmimā iti . . . tasya . . . lalāṭe sneho yad ārdryam ajāyata tenānandat tam abravīd mahad vai yakṣam suvedam avidāmahīti* ||¹⁴

¹⁴ So corrected by Whitney in his Grammar, § 848, instead of the *avidamāha iti* of the editions.

"At first, verily, the self-born Brahman existed alone. It considered 'Verily, I alone exist, the great being, That (that is, Brahman); well, I shall create from myself a second god like to me' . . . At the moisture, wetness, that was produced on its forehead, it felt glad; It ¹⁵ said: 'We have verily easily got the great being.'" *mahād yakṣam*, the great being referred to here, is water, *āpah*, which at first appears as *sneha ārdryam* on the forehead and then (see *khaṇḍa* 2) as *svedadhārāḥ*, 'streams of perspiration' in the pores of its skin, and is in *khaṇḍa* 3, expressly called by that name (*tā āpah srṣṭvā anvaikṣata*). Regarding the creation of Water first by the Brahman, compare Manu, 1, 8: *apa eva sasarjādau tāsu vīryam avāṣṭjat*; Śākuntala, 1, 1 which refers to Water as *yā srṣṭih sraṣṭur ādya*; Ait. Up. 1, 1 f.: *sa īkṣata lokān nu srjā iti sa imān lokān asṛjatāmbho marīcīr maram āpah*; Śat. Br. 6, 1, 3, 1: *prajāpatir vā idam agra āśid eka eva | so'kāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti so' srāmyat sa tapo'tapyata tasniāc chrāntāt tepānād āpo'srjyanta*; compare also Kaṭhopaniṣad, 2, 1, 6: *yaḥ pūrvam tapaso jātam adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata* which also says impliedly that *tapas* and *āpah* were first-born beings.

TB. 3, 12, 3, 1: *prathamajām devām havīṣā vidhema
svayambhū brāhma paramām tāpo yát |
sá evā putrāḥ sá pitā sá mātā
tāpo ha yakṣām prathamām sām babhūva||*

"Let us worship with oblation the first-born god, namely, Tapas, the self-born Brahman, the highest. He alone is the son, he the father, he the mother. Tapas was born the first being." Compare Kaṭhopaniṣad, 2, 1, 6, cited above. It is said frequently in the Upaniṣads and elsewhere that Brahman, after the desire to create arose in it, performed *tapas*; and this has led to *tapas* being

¹⁵ I read *tad abravīt* instead of *tam abravīt* as printed in the Calcutta edition.

regarded as the first thing created by Brahman. Compare Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse : *yoyam tapobhimānī devah sa prathamajah | tathā copaniṣadi sṛṣti-prakarane prathamajatvam āmnāyate | sokāmayata bahu syām prajā-yeyeti sa tapotapayata* ; compare also AV. 11, 8, 6 : *túpo ha jajñe kármaṇas tát té ṛyeṣṭhám úpāsata* 'Tapas was born from action ; that did they worship as the eldest.'

TB. 3, 11, 1, 1 : *tváyidám antáh | viśvam yakṣam viśvam bhūtám viśvāñ subhūtám.*

"Within thee is all being, all creation, all prosperity." This is a formula that is used twenty-four times (with variations in the number of the second personal pronoun when required by the context) in respect of the twenty-four bricks, *iṣṭakāh*, used in the *Nāciketa-cayana*. These bricks are identified with the earth, waters, sky, etc., and each of these is panegyrised as the container of the whole universe. The expressions *viśvam yakṣam* and *viśvam bhūtam* mean almost the same thing ; compare also TA. 10, 16, 1 : *viśvam bhūtam bhuvanam citram*, which corresponds exactly to *viśvam yakṣam viśvam bhūtám viśvāñ subhūtám* here.

AV. 8, 9, 8 : *yām pracyutām ánu yajñāh pracyavanta upaīṣṭhanta upaīṣṭhamānām | yásyā vraté prasacé yakṣam éjati sā virād ḛṣayah paramé vyōman ||*

"After whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and with whose approach they approach ; following whose ordinance and through whose impulse, the world moves,—she, O sages, is the Virāj in the highest heaven." This verse is the answer given by Kaśyapa to the inquiry made in the preceding verse by the six sages about the nature of Virāj who is said to be the father of Brahman. In contrast with *pracyutām* and *pracyavanta* in the first pāda, one expects *pratiṣṭhamānām* and *pratiṣṭhanta* in the second pāda ('after whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and when she is firmly established, are

firmly established') instead of *upatiṣṭhamānām* and *upatiṣṭhanta* that are found there. It is not therefore improbable that these latter words are here used in the sense of *pratiṣṭhamānām* and *pratiṣṭhanta*. Compare Praśnopaniṣad, 2, 4: *tasminn utkrāmaty athetare sarva evotkrāmante tasmiṁś ca pratiṣṭhamāne sarva eva pratiṣṭhante tad yathā makṣikā madhukara-rājānam utkrāmantam sarva evotkrāmante tasmiṁś ca pratiṣṭhamāne sarva eva pratiṣṭhante* 'when it (sc. the *prāṇa*) departs, all the others depart, and when it stays fast, all others stay fast; just as, when the king-bee departs all the bees depart and when he stays fast, all stay fast.'

It will be seen that the second half-verse speaks of the whole universe being controlled by, and obeying the impulse of, the Virāj, while the first half-verse speaks, seemingly, of the sacrifices only, *yajñāḥ*, going when the Virāj goes and coming (or staying) when the Virāj comes (or stays). This is, to say the least, incongruous, and the more so as the sacrifices are not such important things as to deserve mention in this connection. One would rather expect in the first half-verse also mention to be made of the whole universe going and coming (or staying) according as the Virāj goes and comes (or stays); compare the word *sarve* in the Upaniṣad passage *sarva evotkrāmante sarva eva pratiṣṭhante* cited above. I am therefore led to believe that the word *yajñāḥ* here in the first half-verse denotes 'universe,' that is, that it has the same meaning as the word *yakṣa* in the second half-verse. In other words, the view of the Indian commentators that sees in *yakṣa* a derivative from the root *yaj* seems to be justified by the parallelism here of the two words *yajñā* and *yakṣa*.

AV. 8, 9, 25-26: *kó nū gaúḥ ká ekāṣīḥ*
kíṁ u dhāma kā āśīṣāḥ |
yakṣám pṛthivyāṁ ekavīd
ekartúḥ katamó nū sāḥ ||25||

éko gaúr éka ekaṛṣir
 ékaṁ dhāmaikadhaśīṣah !
 yakṣam̄ pṛthivyām̄ ekaṛyā
 ekartur̄ nāti ricyate ||26||

“Who then is the bull, who the sole seer, what the abode and what the desires? The being that on earth is one-fold,—who is he? The bull is one, one the sole seer and one-grouped are the desires. The being that on earth is one-fold, he is not different.” M. Boyer, following Henry, has understood these verses as referring to the sun (*āditya*), that is, to the sun considered as the supreme Being. This is not incorrect; but I believe that it is preferable to refer the verses, with Geldner, (*l.c.* p. 129) to Brahman itself, to the *Virāj* that is spoken of in the opening verses of this hymn. The Brahman is *ekarṣi*, the sole seer, because from it come forth as its breath, the *R̄gveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, etc.; see *Bṛhad. Up.* 2, 4, 10: *asya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad rgvedo yajurvedah sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgirasa itihāsaḥ purāṇam̄ vidyā upaniṣadah̄ slokāḥ sūtrāṇy anuvākhyānāni vyākhyānāny asyaivaitāni sarvāṇi niśvasitāni*. The Brahman is *ekaṛyā*, one-fold, because it is one and changeless; compare *Bh. Gītā*, 12, 3: *sarvatragam acintyam̄ ca kūṭastham̄ acalam dhruvam̄*¹⁶ “The imperishable Brahman that is all-pervading, unthinkable, unchanging, immutable, eternal”; it is the *dhāma* or abode (of all); compare *ibid.* 11, 38: *vettāsi vedyam̄ ca param̄ ca dhāma* ‘Thou art the knower, and the known; (thou art) the supreme abode’; *ibid.* 10, 12: *param̄ brahma param̄ dhāma pavitram̄ paramam̄ bhavān* ‘Thou art the supreme Brahman, the supreme abode, the highest purifier’; *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*, 4, 100: *durdarśam̄ atigam-*

¹⁶ And also perhaps because in it all the gods and other things become one; compare *AV.* 13, 4, 13: *etē asmin̄ devā ekaṛyto bhavanti* “In him all these gods become one” said of the Supreme Being, called *Savitṛ* in this hymn.

bhīram ajam sāmyam viśāradam | buddhvā padam anānā-
 tvaṁ namaskurmo yathābalam; and Maitryupanishad,
 6, 38 : tataḥ śuddhaḥ sattvāntarastham acalam amṛtam
 acyutam dhruvam viśnu-saṁjñitam sarvāparam dhāma
 satyakāma-sarvajñatvasamyuktam paśyati. In
 the Brahman are all āśiṣaḥ or desires; compare Ch.
 Up. 8, 1, 5 : etat satyam brahma-puram asmin kāmāḥ
 samāhitāḥ ‘In this citadel, namely Brahman (so
 Śaṅkara explains the word *brahma-puram*), are placed all
 desires’; Maitryupaniṣad, 6, 30 : atra hi sarve kāmāḥ
 samāhitāḥ ‘Here (in the Brahman) are all desires
 placed’; Ait. Up. 5, 2 : saṅkalpaḥ kratur asuḥ kāmo vaśa
 iti sarvāny evaitāni prajñānasya nāmadheyāni bhavanti
 prajñānam brahma ‘saṅkalpa, kratu, asu, kāma,
 vaśa—all these are names of only *prajñāna*
prajñāna is Brahman.’ The Brahman is *ekartu*, one-
 seasoned, because perhaps there is no succession of days
 and nights in Brahma-loka, or to the Brahman there is
 but only one long unending day, and hence only one
 ‘season’; compare Ch. Up. 8, 4, 1 : naitam setum
 ahorātre tarataḥ etam setum tīrvāpi naktam ahar
 evābhiniśpadyate sakṛd-vibhāto hy evaiṣa brahma-lokaḥ
 ‘This bridge is not crossed by day and night; having
 crossed this bridge, even night becomes day; in this
 Brahma-loka it is always day’; *ibid.*, 3, 11, 3 : na ha vā
 asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā hāsmai bhavati ya etām
 evam brahmopaniṣadām veda ‘To him who thus knows
 the Brahma-mystery, there is no sun-rise and no sun-set;
 it is day to him once for all.’ Compare also Gauḍapāda-
 kārikā, 3, 35 : tad eva nirbhayaṁ ḥrahma ajam
 anidram asvapnam sakṛd-vibhātām sarvajñam
 ‘That is the fearless Brahman unborn, sleepless,
 dreamless all-knowing, to which it is always day’;
 and Muktikopaniṣad, 2, 73 : sakṛd-vibhātām tv ajam ekam
 akṣaram | alepākam sarvagataṁ yad advayaṁ tad eva
 cāhaṁ sakalaṁ vimukta om.

M. Boyer, in the course of his explanation of these verses, says (p. 419) that, *a priori*, there is no reason to suppose that the five questions in v. 25 refer to the same person or thing, but that, as a matter of fact, the answers in v. 26 are capable of being referred to one deity, namely the sun. This is because he understands the last pāda of v. 26 to mean that 'the marvel (as already said above, *yakṣa*=merveille in M. Boyer's opinion) on the earth . . . is not surpassed by any.' It seems to me however that the words *nāti ricyate* should be understood, not as 'is not surpassed' but as 'does not remain over; is not different', and that therefore these words in v. 26 refer to the same subject, and that hence the questions in v. 25 too refer to the same subject.

ekadhāśīṣah means literally, 'the desires become one (in that being)', that is, that all desires are found at once in that being; see above.

AV. 10, 2, 31-33 : *aṣṭācakrā nāvadvārā*

devānāṁ pūr ayodhyā |
tasyāṁ hiranyāyah kōśah
svargō jyotiṣāvṛtaḥ ||31||
tāśmin hiranyāye kōśe
tryāre triprātiṣṭhite |
tāśmin yād yakṣām ātmanvāt
tād vai brahmāśido viduh ||32||
prabhrājamānāṁ hāriṇīm
yāśasā sampārīvṛtām |
pūrāṁ hiranyāyīm brāhma
viveśāparājītām ||33||

"The fortress of the gods has eight wheels (*i.e.*, circumvallations) and nine doors and is inexpugnable; in it is a sheath of gold, heaven, enveloped in splendour; verily, the Brahma-knowers know the animate being that is in this sheath of gold which has three spokes and is thrice-supported. Into this resplendent, yellow, invincible fortress of gold, enveloped in glory, entered the Brahman."

The fortress of the gods is, as Sāyaṇa (on T.A. 1, 27, 2-3) explains, the human body; the nine doors are the nine apertures of the body, namely, the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils (or according to others, the nose and the *brahma-randhra*), the mouth, the *upastha* and *pāyu*: and the eight wheels are the eight *dhātavāḥ* or 'elements' of the body—*tvac* (skin), *asrj* (blood), *medas* (fat), *asthin* (bone), *majjan* (marrow), *śukra* (semen), *māniṣa* (flesh), and *ojas*. The sheath of gold within it is the heart which is the abode of the ātmā: compare T.A. 10, 11, 2: *padmakosā-pratikāśāñ hṛdāyāṁ cāpyadhdhō-mukham | ádho niṣṭyā vitastyānte nābhyāṁ upari tiṣṭhati || jvālamālākulam bhāti viśvásyāyatānāṁ mahat . . . tásmin sarvāṁ prátiṣṭhitam . . . tásya mádhye mahān agniḥ . . . tásya mádhye vāhniśikhā . . . tásyāḥ śikhāyāṁ madhye parāmātmā vyavāsthitāḥ | sá brāhmaṇā sá hāriḥ sēndraḥ sōkṣaraḥ paramāḥ svarāṭ ||* "Like to a lotus-bud, the heart, facing downwards, is (situated) one span below the neck (that is, below the top of the windpipe), and above the navel. This great abode of all (of the world) is shining, being full of rings of flames . . . in it is established everything . . . in its midst is a great fire . . . in it is a flame . . . in the midst of this flame is established the supreme ātmā; he is Brahmā, he Hari (Viṣṇu), he Indra, he the imperishable supreme lord." Compare also Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 9: *hṛdi sthāne sthitāṁ padmām tac ca padmām adhomukham*; Dhyāna-bindūpaniṣad, 12: *ūrdhvānālām adhomukham | kadalī-puṣpasāmīkāśām sarvadevamayāmbujam*; Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1: *asmin brahmaṇe daharam puṇḍarīkām veśma* "In this abode of Brahman (*i.e.*, the body) is a small lotus chamber."

The epithets *tryara* and *tripratiṣṭhita* are not very clear. In Ch. Up. 8, 1, 3¹⁷ we read that the *ākāśa* of the heart contains everything, heaven, earth, *agni*, *vāyu*, etc.

¹⁷ *eso 'ntar-hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | ubhe asmin dyāvāprthivī antar eva samāhite | ubhāv agniś ca vāyuś ca sūryācandramasāv ubhāv ||*

The word *tryara* may therefore perhaps refer to the three worlds and all other similar triplicities as being contained in the heart; compare Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 6 : *trayo lokās trayo vedās trayah sandhyās trayah surāḥ | trayognayo guṇās trīṇi sthitāḥ sarve trayākṣare*. The *trayākṣara* or *prāṇava* is thus said to contain within itself the three worlds, the three Vedas, the three *sandhyās*, etc.; and as the heart is, like the *prāṇava*, a seat, *adhiṣṭhāna*, of the Supreme, these triplicities may all be regarded as being contained in the heart and as forming the *arāḥ* or spokes thereof referred to by the epithet *tryara*.

The epithet *tripratiṣṭhita* refers perhaps to the three states of the heart spoken of in Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 1 : *akārc śocitāṁ padmam ukāreṇaiva bhidyate | makārc labhate nādam ardhamatrā tu niścalā* which seems to mean: “When *a* is pronounced, the lotus (of the heart) brightens (becomes ready to open?); it opens when *u* is pronounced; and begins to hum when *ma* is pronounced; it is immobile when the *ardhamātrā* is pronounced.” Now *a*, *u*, and *ma* are said (in the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad, Gauḍapāda-kārikā, and elsewhere) to be the pādas or feet of the *prāṇava* which thus rests or is supported on them. Similarly, the heart when it brightens, the heart when it opens, and the heart when it is humming, may be considered the feet or supports of the *prāṇava* or Brahman.

The word *svarga* in the fourth pāda of v. 31 is usually interpreted as ‘heavenly’, *svargatulya*, etc. There is however no necessity for abandoning the usual meaning of the word, namely, ‘heaven’; for this word is often used to denote the supreme heaven or Brahmaloka where the Brahman dwells (compare Bṛhad. Up. 4, 4, 8 : *dhirā apiyanti brahmavidah svargam lokam* and Śaṅkara’s comment: *svargaloka-śabdās trivitapa-cācy api sann iha prakarayān mokṣābhidhāyakah*; Ch. 8, 3, 2-3 : *imāḥ*

prajā ahar-ahar gacchantya etam brahmalokam na vindanti . . . tasmād dhydayam ahar-ahar vā evamvit svaragam lokam eti and Śaṅkara's comment thereon). It is so used here also as is made quite clear by the reading of the parallel passage in TA. 1, 27, 3: *tasyāñ hiranmayaḥ kośaḥ | svargo loko jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ*.

With regard to the word *aṣṭācakrā*, it has been observed by M. Boyer (*l.c.* p. 436) that Sāyaṇa has explained the word *cakra* in it as *āvaraṇa*, or circumvallation enclosing the body that is regarded as a fortress, in his commentary on TA. 1, 27, 3,¹⁸ while in his commentary on AV. 11, 4, 22 he has explained the word as 'wheel' serving as the means for locomotion of the body that is here regarded as a chariot. This is because TA. 1, 27, 3 refers distinctly to a fort, *pūḥ*, while AV. 11, 4, 22 refers equally distinctly to a chariot (compare the words *ekanemi* 'having one rim' and *sahasrākṣara* which Sāyaṇa explains as 'having a thousand axles' used in it). The discrepancy therefore, if any, is to be attributed to the texts themselves and not to Sāyaṇa who had to explain them faithfully as they stood. But is there really a discrepancy here? I am disposed to think that there is none; the meanings 'circumvallation' and 'wheel' are not mutually exclusive, and in all probability they are both intended (see p. 21 above) by the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakrā* which would thus mean 'having eight circumvallations and eight wheels to move with' or 'having ramparts and moving.' In other words, the fort, *pūḥ*, spoken of in AV. 10, 2, 31, seems to be a mobile fort, *jaṅgamo durgāḥ* or *cariṣṇūḥ pūḥ*. Such a mobile fort is, besides the 'firm' forts, *dṛḍhāḥ pūraḥ*, that are frequently mentioned, known to the RV which refers to one in 8, 1, 28: *tvāṁ pūram cariṣṇvāṁ vadhaiḥ śuṣṇásya sāṁ piṇak* "Thou (O Indra), didst shatter with thy

¹⁸ There is no commentary of Sāyaṇa on AV. 10, 2, 31-33 or in fact on any passage of the tenth *Kāṇḍa* of the AV.

weapons the mobile fort of Śuṣṇa." Such forts are occasionally mentioned in later books also; compare Bhāgavata, 10, 76, 6f.—

devāsura-manuṣyāṇāṁ gandharvoraga-rakṣasām |
 abhedyām kāmagamām vavre sa yānām Vṛṣṇi-bhīṣṇām ||
 tatheti Giriṣādiṣṭo Mayah para-puramjayah |
 puram nirmāya Sālvāya prādāt Saubham ayasmayam ||;
 Mahābhārata, 8, 25, 13f. [The three sons of Tārakāsura said to Mahādeva]:
 vastum icchāma nagaram kartum kāmagamām śubham |
 sarvakāma-samyuddhārtham avadhyām deva-dānavaiḥ ||13||
 yakṣa-rakṣoraga-gaṇair nānā-jātibhir eva ca |
 na kṛtyābhir na ṣastraś ca na ṣāpair brahma-vedinām ||
 vadhyeta tripuram deva prayaccheḥ prapitāmaha ||14||

• • • • •
 te tu labdha-varāḥ pṛītāḥ saṁpradhārya parasparam |
 puratraya-visṛṣṭyarthaṁ Mayām vavrur mahārathāḥ ||19||
 tato Mayah svatapasā cakre dhīmān purāṇi ca |
 trīṇi kāñcanam ekāṁ vai raupyaṁ kārṣṇāyasām tathā ||20||

• • • • •
 ekaikāṁ yojanāśatām vistṛtām tāvad āyatam |
 dṛḍham cāṭṭalaka-yutām bṛhat-prākāra-torāṇam ||22||

• • • • •
 pṛāsādair vividhais cāpi dvāraś caivopasobhitam ||23||;

and ibid., 3, 176, 1ff.:

nivartamānena mayā mahad dṛṣṭām tatoparam |
 puram kāmagamām divyām pāvakārka-sama-prabhām ||1||
 ratnadrūmamayaś citrair bhāsvaraiś ca patatribhīḥ |
 paulomaiḥ kālakeyaiś ca nitya-hṛṣṭair adhīṣṭhitam ||2||
 gopurāṭṭalakopetaṁ catur-dvāraṁ durāsadam |
 sarva-ratnamayaṁ divyām adbhuṭpama-darśanam ||3||

• • • • •
 durdharṣam amarair api |
 maharṣi-yakṣa-gandharva-pannagāśurarākṣasaiḥ ||10||
 sarvakāmaguṇoḍetaṁ vīta-śokam anāmayam |
 brahmaṇo bhāvanāc chreṣṭham . . .

From the descriptions given of the Tripura and of the *pura* of the Paulomas and Kālakeyas (this was named Hiranya-pura), it will be seen that not only were these mobile forts, moving in the sky according to the desire of the kings dwelling in them, but they were also provided with high ramparts and gates and they were impregnable to the assaults of gods (*deva*), Dānavas, Yakṣas, etc. The fort named Hiranya-pura was, in addition, 'as bright as Agni (fire) and Sūrya (sun)' and 'better than the abode of Brahman'; and these descriptions recall the expressions *devānām ayodhyā pūḥ*¹⁹ (in v. 31), *aparājītā pūḥ* (in v. 33), *hiranyayāḥ*, *jyotiṣā vṛtah*, *svargah*, *prabhrājamāna*, *yaśasā samparīvṛta* in the above verses as also the expressions *aṣṭācakrā* and *navadvārā*. All these traits and especially the one about Hiranya-pura being better than the abode of Brahman seem to me to point particularly to the description of the *brahma-pura* and the *koṣa* therein that is brilliant, *prabhrājamāna*, yellow, *hariṇī*, surrounded with glory, *yaśasā samparīvṛta*, and golden, *hiranyayāḥ*, that is contained in the above verses (AV. 10, 2, 31-33) and to be based thereon. In any case, they make it probable that the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakrā* signifies circumvallations and at the same time mobility also. Compare Kaṭhopaniṣad 1, 3, 3: *ātmānam rathinam viddhi śarīram ratham eva ca | buddhim tu sārathim viddhi manah pragraham eva ca*, and other similar passages which compare the body to a chariot.

This mode of interpretation which makes the verses refer to the human body does not find favour with M. Boyer, who has observed (*l.c.* p. 438) that the wording of verses 31 and 33 is such that they can not but both refer to the same thing. The expression *aparājītā pūḥ*

¹⁹This has been explained by Bhāskararāya, in the course of his commentary on the Lalitā-sahasrānāma, s. v. *yoni-nilayā* (in v. 217) as *devānām apy ayodhyā asādhyā durlabhaḥ pūḥ nagarī . . . | tīvarāvāsarūpā Ayodhyā-nagari tu martyānām ayodhyā | iyam tu devānām apīty arthah |*

in v. 33 therefore must denote the same thing as the expression *ayodhyā pūh* of v. 31 ; and though the epithets *aṣṭācakrā* and *navadvārā* may be said to be quite appropriate to the human body, it is hardly possible, he observes, to say the same of the epithets *prabhrājamānā*, *hariṇī*, *yaśasā sāmparīvṛtā* and *hiranyayī* used in v. 33. M. Boyer therefore thinks that the verses refer to a celestial citadel of Brahman, and that the *koṣa*, sheath, which is referred to as being within the citadel, is the sun. According to this interpretation, too, the citadel referred to is a mobile one provided with gates and *cakras* or means for locomotion (the numbers nine and eight, however, in the epithets *aṣṭācakrā* and *navadvārā* says M. Boyer, have no particular significance beyond that of multiplicity). The 'sheath' spoken of being the sun, the epithets *svarga* (which M. Boyer explains as 'celeste'), *jyotiṣā vṛta* and *hiranyaya* are quite in place ; the epithets *tryara* and *tripratisthita* refer to the three worlds as being contained in the sun and as being the support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the sun.

This interpretation of M. Boyer or one very like it, is, for a reason that will presently be mentioned, quite possible. The objection however that he has raised against referring the verses to the human body can, it seems to me, be easily met. The 'fortress that is impregnable to the assaults of the gods even,' *devānām ayodhyā pūh*, mentioned in v. 31 as having eight circumvallations and nine gates is not the same as the *aparājita pūh* mentioned in v. 33. The fortress spoken of in the former verse is the body that is elsewhere also referred to as *pūh* or *pura* (compare Bh. Gītā, 5, 13 : *navadvārē pure dehī naiva kurvan na kārāyan* ; Śvet. Up. 3, 18 : *puraḥ puruṣa āviśad iti | sa vā ayaṁ puruṣaḥ sarvāśu pūrṣu puriṣayāḥ* ; TA. 10, 10, 3 ; *yat pūṇḍarīkam pura-madhyā-saṅsthām* ; Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1 *yad idam asmin brahma-pure daharam pūṇḍarīkam veśma*, etc.), while the fortress mentioned in v. 33 is the heart that is also some-

times referred to as *pura* or *brahma-pura*, compare Muṇḍakopaniṣad, 2, 2, 7: *divye brahma-pure hy eṣa vyonny ātmā pratiṣṭhitah* (Roth in the PW. s. v. explains *brahma-pura* as 'heart'); Ātmabodhopaniṣad, 1: *yad idam brahma-puram puṇḍarīkam tasmāt taṭid-ābha-māṭram*; Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, 5: *tad idam puram puṇḍarīkam*. This is shown by the epithet *hiranyaya* that is common to the *kōṣa* of vv. 31, 32 and the *pūḥ* of v. 33, as also by the parallelism of the expression *jyotiṣā vr̥ta* in v. 31 with *yaśasā samparīvr̥ta* in v. 33. Now this heart has been described, in TA. 10, 11, 2 cited above as 'shining' and 'full of rings of flames.' It is described as *hiranyaya* 'golden' in Muṇḍakopaniṣad 2, 2, 8. The epithets *prabhrājamāna*, *harita*, *yaśasā samparīvr̥ta*, and *hiranyaya* of v. 33 can all be therefore appropriately used of the heart, and the incongruity pointed out by M. Boyer does not in fact exist.

These verses, as also the corresponding ones in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (1, 27, 3) are explained by the writers on Sākta Tantrism—e.g., by Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on v. 11 of the *Saundaryalaharī* or *Ānandalaharī*, by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the *Latitāsahasranāma* and also in his commentary, named *Setubandha*, on the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* of *Nityāśodaśikārṇava*—as referring to the Śrī-cakra. As the Śrī-cakra is, as is well-known, a symbol of the human body (see on this point the *Bhāvanopaniṣad*, *Tantrarāja-tantra* edited by A. Avalon and the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* mentioned above), such interpretation is not so far-fetched as it may at first sight seem to be; and what is more, it has also to be admitted that the Tāntrik interpretation brings out the meaning of the various epithets more strongly and clearly than the usual interpretation does. I reproduce ²⁰ here as a specimen that given in the *Setubandha* (p. 189) where, as I have already observed,

²⁰ Correcting the mistakes that are found in the verses quoted in the edition.

Bhāskararāya explains the term *yakṣam* as *mahābhūtam pūjanīyam*: *tathā cātharvaṇāḥ Śaunaka-śākhīyā āmananti| aṣṭācakrā navadvārā devānāṁ pūr ayodhyā | tasyāṁ hiranyayāḥ koṣāḥ svargo jyotiṣā vṛtah | tasmin hiranyaye koṣe tryare tripratiṣṭhite | tasmin yad yakṣam ātmanvat tad vai brahma | taittirīya-śākhāyāṁ prathamāntam iti viśeṣaḥ| trailokyamohanādi-sarvasiddhipradānta-cakrāṣṭakayuktām nāva-yoni-ghaṭitām anyeṣām asādhyām devatāvāsabhūtām Śrī-cakra-nagaram yat tatrāpy uttamāḥ koṣo jyotirmayaḥ svarga-tulyas trikona-nāmako 'sti | tasmin koṇe tridhāḥ pratiṣṭhitām tri-samaṣṭi-svarūpām bindu-cakram asti; tasmin bindu-cakre svātmanīva yad yakṣam mahābhūtām pūjanīyam tad brahmaiveti vāsanām ajiñā (sic) jānanti. Substantially the same explanation²¹ of these two verses is given by him in his *Lalitāsahasranāmabhāṣya* (p. 179 of the Nirṇayasāgara ed.); but *yakṣa* is here explained as *pūjyam* only.*

I have said above that the explanation of M. Boyer or one similar to it, which makes the verses refer to the sun as being the citadel in which Brahman dwells, is a quite possible one; and I have also said that the explanation of Bhāskararāya and other Tāntriks that makes them refer to the Śrī-cakra, is not a far-fetched one. I have further given an explanation of these verses above on the line followed by Sāyaṇa, which makes them refer to the human body. The reason why so many explanations are possible of these verses is this: the verses refer to the *ātmanvad yakṣam* (= *ātmanvad bhūtam* or *bhūtātman*) or the soul, dwelling in a *koṣa*. Now the soul in the body is identical with the *puruṣa* in the sun according to the

²¹ To understand these explanations of Bhāskararāya, it is necessary to have a correct notion of how the *Śrī-cakra* is written, of its divisions and of its worship. These can be learnt from the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* and the *Tantrarāja-tantra* in detail, and then it will become evident that the Tāntrik explanation of the various epithets found in these verses is superior to that of Sāyaṇa and of others who proceed on the same lines.

teaching of the Upaniṣads; compare Taitt. Up. 3, 10, 4 : *sa yaś cāyam̄ puruṣe | yaś cāśāv̄ āditye | sa ekah̄*; Maitryupaniṣad, 7, 7 : *yaś cāyam̄ hr̄daye yaś cāśā āditye sa eṣa ekah̄*; and this explains why the *koṣa* mentioned in v. 32 can be understood as the human heart or as the sun. The Śrī-cakra, too, as I have said above, is a symbol of the human body, and therefore the Tāntrik explanation of the verses is, in essence, one that refers to such body. Similarly the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the sun being identical with Brahman (compare Ch. Up. 3, 19, 1 : *ādityo brahmety ādeshah̄* and TA. 2, 2, 2 : *asāv̄ ādityo brahma*) explains why some verses of the AV where the word *yakṣa* occurs have been referred to the sun by Henry and Boyer, and to Brahman by Geldner. In these verses *yakṣa* in effect refers to the Brahman, even where the interpretations do not contain that word at all, but refer instead to the sun or the soul.

AV. 10, 8, 43 : *puṇḍarīkām̄ nāvadvāram̄
tribhīr̄ guṇēbhir̄ āvṛtam̄ !
tāsmīn̄ yād yakṣam̄ ātmanvāt
tād vāi brahmavido viduḥ ||*

“The lotus that has nine doors and that is enveloped thrice,—verily the knowers of Brahman know the animate being in it.” The ‘lotus with nine doors’ is, like the sheath, *koṣa*, in the ‘fortress with nine gates’ in the verse explained above, the heart in the human body. The ‘nine doors’ are those of the human body, and the ‘lotus’ can be said to have them in a figurative sense only. The ‘triple envelope’ seems, as suggested by M. Boyer, to consist of *satya* (truth), *yaśas* (glory) and *śrīh* (beauty) which are said in AV. 12, 5, 2 : *satyēnāvṛtā śriyā prāvṛtā yāśasā pārvṛtā* to be the envelopes of the Brāhmaṇa’s cow, *brahmagavī*; compare the epithet *jyotiṣā vṛtah* of the *koṣa* mentioned in AV. 10, 2, 31 and the epithet *yaśasā samparīvṛta* used (in v. 33 of the same hymn) of the *aparājītā pūh* which, as I have said above, refers to the heart. Geldner explains the expression

tribhir gunebhir āvṛtam as 'enveloped by the three *gunas* (i.e., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*).'

AV. 10, 7, 38: *mahād yakṣām bhūvanasya mādhye
tāpasi krāntām salilasya pṛṣṭhē ।
tāsmiñ chrayante yá u kē ca devā
vṛkṣasya skāndhāḥ parīta iva sākhaḥ ॥*

"The great being in the centre of the world has passed into *tapas* and into the back of the water; they that are gods (that is, all the gods) rest attached in it as the branches of a tree round the trunk." The hymn 10, 7 in which this verse occurs is addressed to Skambha which, according to the Cūlikopaniṣad (v. 11), is another name of Brahman. The 'great being in the centre of the world,' referred to here, is therefore the Brahman; and the word *krāntam* in the second pāda refers to the 'passing' or transformation of Brahman into *tapas* and water—an idea which we have met with above (p. 164), where it was said that *tapas* and water were first created by Brahman or were first born of Brahman. This verse, however, speaks instead of 'creation' or 'birth' (*utpatti* of the later Naiyāyikas; compare the preceding verse but one, *yāḥ śrāmāt tāpaso jātō lokān sārvān samānaśe । tāsmai jyeṣṭhāya brāhmaṇe nāmaḥ* referring apparently to water) from Brahman, of the 'passing' or transformation (*parināma* of the Sāṅkhya system,) of Brahman into *tapas* and Water; and it is very remarkable that the *parināma* doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas should be thus met with in the AV. With regard to the gods resting in the Brahman, compare RV. 1, 164, 39: *ṛcō akṣāre paramē vīḍman
yāśmin devāḥ ádhi vīśve niṣedūḥ*; Kaṭhopaniṣad, 2, 1, 9: *tām devāḥ sarve 'rpitāḥ*: Kauśitaki Up. 2, 9: *sa tu
bhavati yatraitc devāḥ*. The word *pṛṣṭhē* has no particular significance here; the expression *salilasya pṛṣṭhē* is simply equivalent to *salile*.

AV. 10, 8, 15: *dūrē pūrṇēna vāsati dūrā ūnīna hīyate ।
mahād yakṣām bhūvanasya mādhye
tāsmai balīm rāṣṭrabhṛto bharanti ॥*

“ It lives far from the full ; it is abandoned in the distance by the not-full. The great being in the centre of the universe—to it bring tribute the rulers of kingdoms.” The great being at the centre of the universe is of course the Brahman that is far removed from the full and the not-full, from the big and the not-big, from the small and the not-small, etc. ; compare the passage *nyūnam anyat sthānam saṁpūrṇam anyat* (the author of the *Ratnaprabhā* calls this a *śruti*) cited by Śaṅkara in the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* in the course of his introduction to the *Ānandamayādhikarāṇa* along with Bṛhad. Up., 3, 8, 8 : *asthūlam anāñv ahrasvam adīrgham* “ It is not big, not small, not short, not long.” *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* means, not feudatories (as M. Boyer understands), but those who rule kingdoms, or kings, that is, as Geldner has pointed out, the gods, the chief gods ; compare AV. 13, 1, 35 : *yé devā rāṣṭrabhṛto 'bhito yánti sūryam* “ The kingdom-ruling gods who go round the sun ” ; and *ibid.* 10, 7, 39 | *yásmai hástabhyaṁ pādābhyaṁ vācā śrótrena cákṣusā : yásmai devāḥ sádā balīm prayáchchanti* “ To which the gods always render tribute with the two hands, with the two feet, with speech, hearing and with sight.” These passages make it probable that the ‘ gods ’ spoken of here are the same as those mentioned in the *Praśnopaniṣad*, 2, 1—2 : *bhagavan katy eva devāḥ prajām vidhārayante katara etat prakāśayante kah punar cṣām variṣṭha iti ākāśo ha vā cṣā devo vāyur agnir āpah pṛthivī vān manaś cakṣuh śrotrām ca* “ How many gods, O venerable, uphold the creature (*i.e.*, the body)? Which of them illumine it? And which again of them is the greatest? These gods verily are Ākāśa, Vāyu, Agni, Water, Earth, Speech, Mind, Eye and Ear ”, that is to say, the *prāṇas*. Compare the story related in Bṛhad. Up. 6, 1 about the dispute that arose amongst the *prāṇas* as to who was the best and how the *mukhya-prāṇa* in whose favour the dispute was settled, made the others pay tribute to itself (6, 1, 13 : *tasyo me balīm kuruteti tatheti*) : compare also

Kauṣitaki Up. 2, 1: *taṃmai vā etasmāi prāṇāya brahmaṇa etāḥ sarvā devatā ayācamānāya baliṁ haranti* and Praśnopaniṣad, 2, 7.

VS. 34, 2: *yēna kārmāṇy apāso maniṣino
yajñē kṛṇvānti vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ |
yād apūrvāṁ yakṣāṁ antāḥ prajānāṁ
tāṁ me mānaḥ śivāsaṁkalpam astu ||*

“ May the *manas* (mind), that is in men, by means of which the wise ones, clever and intelligent, perform the rites in the sacrifice, in the religious ceremonies—may the *manas* that is in me, be auspiciously inclined.” This mantra is the second of the six śivasaṁkalpa-mantras that are found in the beginning of ch. 34 of the VS. The epithets applied to *manas* in these verses show that the *manas* spoken of is not the mind in men, but the ego or soul or Brahman; compare for instance, the epithet *jyotiṣāṁ jyotiḥ* in v. 1, *hṛt-prātiṣṭham* in v. 6, and the description *yāt prajānām utā céto dhṛtiś ca yáj jyótir antár amṛtaṁ prajāsu* in v. 3, and *yásminn ṣeṭ sāma yájūṇsi yásmin prātiṣṭhitā rathanābhāv itārāḥ | yásminn cittān sārvam ótaṁ prajānām* in v. 5. Hence the description of this *manas* in this verse as *apūrvāṁ yakṣam* which means not only ‘wonderful being,’ as interpreted above, but also ‘the being before which none existed; first-born being’; compare Bṛhad. Up. 2, 5, 19: *tad etad brahmāpūrvam anāparam anantaram abāhyam*. Compare also Ait. Ār., 5, 1, 1: *mana itāpūrvam vāyur iva ślokabhūr bhūyāsam* “ May I be ever new like *manas* (mind) the origin of *śloka* (sound; fame; Sāyaṇa, however, explains as *saṅgha*) like *Vāyu*,” and Sāyaṇa’s comment thereon: *uttarottaram abhivyddhikākṣayā prayatamānām sat tat-tat-phala-prāptyā nūtanām rūpām pratipadyate*.

RV. 1, 190, 4: *asyā śloko diviyate prthivyām
ātyo ná yaṁsad yakṣabhyé vīcetāḥ |
mṛgānām ná hetāyo yánti cemā
bṛhaspáter áhimāyān abhi dyūn ||*

“ His voice rushes in heaven and in earth. He, the supporter of the universe, the wise, raised (his shouts or chants) as a horse (does his neigh). These chants of Brhaspati go forth, like missiles on beasts, on the enemies who are as crafty as Ahi.” *yakṣabhr̥t*= the supporter of the universe, as Roth has correctly explained. It is the equivalent of the word *bhūtabhr̥t* which is also used in the same sense; compare Bh. Gītā, 9, 5 : *bhūtabhr̥n na ca bhūtastho mamātmā bhūtabhāvanah*, ‘supporting the universe but not in it’; and Mahābhārata, 13, 254, 16 (*Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*) : *bhūtakṛd bhūtabhr̥d bhāvah*. I follow Geldner in supplying *ślokam* in the second pāda as object of the verb *yamṣat*, and in understanding *abhi dyūn* (ought we not rather to read *abhidyūn* as one word?) as ‘attackers’ or ‘enemies’. After *imāh* in the third pāda, we have to understand *vācaḥ*, *girāḥ* or other similar word meaning ‘words; chants’, which Brhaspati as *purohita* makes use of on behalf of his patron (see Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 137). These rush on the enemies and destroy them, as the arrows of a hunter speed towards the beasts and destroy them; compare p. 141 f. above and the Raghuvamśa verse (1, 61) cited there, addressed by King Dilīpa to his purohita: *tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśamitāribhīḥ* | *pratyādiśyanta iva me dṛṣṭa-lakṣya-bhidah* *śarāḥ* “ My arrows that are able to pierce such objects only as are visible to me are made to recede to the background by the mantras (spells) that have been employed by you, the mantra-maker, and that kill enemies from a far distance.” Note here too the comparison of the purohita’s spells with arrows shot at some object.

RV. 10, 88, 13 : *vaiśvānarām kavāyo yajñiyāso*
 ‘*gnīm devā ajanayann ajuryām* |
 nākṣatram pratnām áminac cariṣṇū
 yakṣasyādhyakṣām taviṣām bṛhāntam ||

“ The worshipful wise ones, the gods, engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, the imperishable, the ancient, mobile luminary (star), the supervisor of the universe, the

mighty, the great." *yakṣasya adhyakṣam* or 'supervisor of the universe' is equivalent to 'lord of the universe'; compare 1, 98, 1 : *vaiśvānarāsyā sumataú syāma rājā hī kam bhūvanānām abhiśrīḥ* | *itō jātō vīśvam idāni vī caste vaiśvānarō yataste sūryeṇa* "May we dwell in the favour of Vaiśvānara; he is the king and the ornament of the world. Born from here, Vaiśvānara beholds this world; he competes with the sun." Vaiśvānara is thus, in this latter verse, a being different from the sun, while in the former (10, 88, 13) the words *nākṣatram* *āminac* *cariṣṇū* seem to indicate that Vaiśvānara is identical with the sun.

Śat. Br. 11, 4, 3, 5 : *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe |*
sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe
veda mahad dhaivā yakṣam bhavati ||

"These two (sc. *nāma* and *rūpa*; name and form) are the two great beings (that is, forms, *ex-istences*) of Brahman. He who knows these two great beings (that is, forms, *ex-istences*) of Brahman, becomes himself a great being."

Kauśika-sūtra, 95, 1 : *atha yatraitāni yakṣāṇi dṛṣyante*
tad yathāitān markaṭāḥ śvāpado
vāyasaḥ puruṣarūpam iti tad
evam āśaṅkyam eva bhavati ||

"When these evil beings are seen, as for instance, an evil being having the form of a monkey, or of a beast of prey, or of a crow, or of man, then the same apprehension is to be felt." The word *yakṣa* here denotes 'evil being', and as monkeys, and crows can not, by themselves, be said to be evil beings, it follows that the words *markaṭāḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* denote evil beings having that form; compare RV. 7, 104, 18: *rakṣāśṝḥ sāṁ pīnaṣṭāna* | *vāyo yé bhūtvī patāyanti naktābhīḥ* "Crush the demons who fly about at nights after having become (i.e., in the form of) birds." In other words, the word *rūpam* that forms the last element of the compound *puruṣarūpam*,

connects itself with each of the foregoing words *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* forming the compounds *markaṭa-rūpam*, *śvāpadarūpam* and *vāyasarūpam* (which together with *puruṣarūpam* are in apposition with, and qualify, the word *yakṣāṇi*). Now according to later grammatical usage the words *markaṭa*, *śvāpada*, *vāyasa* and *puruṣa* should be all joined together in a dvandva-compound and such compound be further joined with *rūpa*, forming a *śaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa*, in order that the word *rūpa* may be connected with all these words—*dvandvāntे śrūyamāṇam pādaṁ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*. It is interesting to note that here *rūpa* connects itself with the words *markaṭa*, etc., though there is no *dvandva* or other compound, and the words stand singly in the nominative case. A similar usage is observable in the following mantra also that comes immediately after the above sentence: *yan markaṭaḥ śvāpado vāyaso yadidam rāṣṭram jātavedaḥ pātāti puruṣa-rakṣasam iṣirām yat pātāti | dviṣantam etc anuyantu sarve pārañco yantu nivartamāṇāḥ*. Here too the word *rakṣasam* that stands at the end of the compound *puruṣa-rakṣasam* has to be construed with *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* also used in the first pāda.

Instead of *puruṣarūpam* (*yakṣam*), the word *puruṣa-rakṣasam* is used in this latter mantra indicating that *puruṣarūpam* *yakṣam* = *puruṣa-rakṣasam* or evil being in the form of man.

The word *yakṣa* is found in Kh. 93 also of the Kauśika-sūtra, where too, it has the meaning 'evil being.'

AV. 11, 2, 24: *tūbhym āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛgā vāne hitā
haṁsāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunā vāyāṁsi |
tāvā yakṣāmī paśupate aपsv antás
tūbhym kṣaranti divyā ḥpo vṛdhé ||*

" For thee are the beasts of the jungle, the animals placed in the forests, the swans, the kites, the birds great and small; thy might, O Paśupati, (is felt) in the waters; the divine waters flow for thy enhancement (that is, for

the enhancement of thy glory)." In other words, 'the beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, and the rivers are subject to thy power and act as thou impellest them to act. Thy might is felt in the water, in the air, and on the earth.' This praise is addressed to Paśupati or Rudra as the supreme god; and the ideas expressed here belong to the same class as those expressed in RV. 1, 101, 3 : *yásya vraté várūṇo yásya súryaḥ | yásyéndrasya síndhavaḥ sáscati vratám* ('in whose control is Varuṇa and the sun; whose, Indra's, ordinance is followed by the rivers'); *ibid.* 2, 28, 4: *ṛtám síndhavo várūṇasya yanti | ná śrāmyanti ná ví mucanty eté* ('the rivers follow the ordinances of Varuṇa; they flow without tiring, without ceasing.); AV. 13, 3, 2: *yásmañ vātā ṛtuthā páravante yásmañ samudrā ádhi vikṣáranti* ('on account of whom the winds blow in season and the oceans flow'). Compare also Bṛhad. Up., 3, 7, 2 ff., *yāḥ pṛthivyām tiṣṭhan, pṛthivīm antaro yamayati . . . yo 'psu tiṣṭhan . . . aपām antaro yamayati . . . yāḥ sarveṣu bhūteṣu tiṣṭhan . . . sarvāṇi bhūtāṇy antaro yamayati*: Kaṭhopaniṣad, 2, 6, 3: *bhayād asyagnis tapati bhayāt tapati sūryaḥ*.

RV. 5, 70, 4: *mā kásyādbhutakratū*
yakṣām bhujemā tanūbhīḥ |
mā sēṣasā mā tānasā ||

" May we not, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa) who have wonderful strength, feel, either ourselves or in our offspring or in our posterity, the might of any one." That is, 'may we not feel the weight of the might of any one; may we not be oppressed by the thought that any one is more mighty than we ourselves and able to injure us.' The expression *yakṣām bhujemā* here is equivalent to the expression *dakṣām bhujemā* in 4, 3, 13 which will be explained below.

RV. 7, 88, 6: *yá āpír nityo varuna priyāḥ sán*
tvām āgāṁsi kṛṇāvat sákhā te |
mā ta énasvanto yakṣin bhujemā
yandhi smā vīprāḥ stuvaté várūtham ||

“Who, O Varuṇa, being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil against thee—may not we who have sinned, feel, O mighty one, thy (might); do thou that art wise offer protection to thy praiser.” We have to understand the word *yakṣa* here in the third pāda as the object of the verb *bhujema*. The meaning is, ‘may we not suffer from thy might, that is, feel the weight of thy displeasure, on account of the sins that we have committed.’ The two ideas of *eno bhujema* (punishment for sins committed; compare 6, 51, 7; 7, 52, 2) and *yakṣām bhujema* (see 5, 70, 4 above) are combined here in this one pāda.

As I have already observed (see p. 18), the relative clause *yá āpīr nityah . . . tvām ḍgām̄si kṛṇāvat* qualifies *vayam* (understood) that is the subject of *bhujema* in the third pāda; as the plural *vayam* is only the *pluralis majestaticus*, the use of the singular number in *yah*, etc., in the first two pādas and in *stuvate* (fourth pāda) is not improper.

RV. 7, 61, 5 : *ámūrā viśvā vṛṣapāv imā vām
ná yāsu citrām dādṛṣe ná yakṣām |
drūhah̄ sacante ánytā jánānām
ná vām niṇyāny acīte abhūvan ||*

“O ye wise and strong (*sc.* Mitra and Varuṇa), for you (are) all these (praises) in which is seen neither ornament (brilliance) nor substance. The Druhs follow the iniquities of men; secrets did not remain unknown to you.” The meaning of this verse is obscure. The author of the Padapāṭha reads the words *amūrā* and *viśvā* as duals and apparently construes them with the dual *vṛṣapāv* referring to Mitra and Varuṇa, a view that is accepted by Geldner, but from which M. Boyer dissents. I believe that the Padapāṭha is right in reading *amūrā* (and referring it to Mitra and Varuṇa); at the same time, however, I believe that it is preferable to read *viśvāh* instead of *viśvā* (dual) and construe it with

imāḥ, after which, I follow Sāyaṇa in supplying the word *stutayah* (*girāḥ*). The sense therefore of the first half-verse is, “These praises that we offer to you, O Mitra and Varuṇa are not polished and brilliant (do not contain *alaṅkāras*) ; nor is there substance in them, that is, there is no *artha-gāmbhīrya* or *bhāva-gāmbhīrya* in them ; we pray that you will nevertheless take them to your heart and like them.”

citra here does not signify *āścarya* as Sāyaṇa and, following him, Geldner, think, but rather ‘ornament,’ *alaṅkāra* ; it has here the same sense as it has in books on rhetoric (*kāvya-alaṅkāra-sāstra*) and means *artha-citra* (*arthā-alaṅkāra*) and *śabdacitra* (*śabdā-alaṅkāra*). It is an often-expressed sentiment of later books that a *kāvya*, *stuti* or other composition in words should, in order to be acceptable, contain *alaṅkāras* and yield a good meaning ; compare, for instance, Subhāśitaratnabhāṣḍagāra, 5th edition, *Kāvya-praśnāṁśā*, verses 17 and 21, in praise of *alaṅkāra* and vv. 22, 24 in praise of *artha*, and the expression *bhāvā-alaṅkaraṇocitāgamavatī* in v. 44 ; compare also v. 51 in *ibid.*, p. 35 : *arthān kecid upāsate kṛpaṇavat kecit te alaṅkurvate veśyāvat khalu dhātuvādina ivodbadhnanti kecid rasān | arthā-alaṅkṛti-sadrasa-dravamucāṁ vācāṁ prāśastiśrāmā kartārah kavayo bhāvanti katicit puṇyair agaṇyair iha*. The first two pādas of the above mantra too, give expression, as I think, to an idea in the same sphere ; in them the poet confesses that his praises cannot be said to be good, that they contain neither *alaṅkāra* nor *artha*. Contrast in this respect Kumārasaṁbhava, 2, 3 : *atha sarvasya dhātāram te sarve sarvatomukham | vāgīśāṁ vāgbhir arthyābhiḥ prāṇipatyo-patasthīre* ; Raghuvanīśa, 4, 6 : *stutyaṁ stutibhir arthyābhir upatasthe Sarasvatī* ; Nilakaṇṭhavijayacampū, 4, 16 : *iti stutibhir arthyābhir dhyāyato niścalām Śivam | aspandeśasya gātṛeṣu paspande dakṣiṇo bhujāḥ*. *arthyā vāk* means, as Mallinātha explains, *arthayuktā vāk*, speech or praise in which there is *artha* or *bhāva* or richness of content.

Compare further the opinion, cited and refuted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 14; Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1902): *sālaṅkārau śabdārthau kāvyam*. Hence the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa and Kādambarī have said of these works that they have been constructed of 'brilliant' words and thoughts; see Rām., 1, 2, 42: *udāra-vṛttārtha-pādair manoramais tad asya Rāmasya cakāra kirtimān . . . yaśaskaram kāvyam udāradhīr muniḥ*; and Kādambarī, v. 9 of introduction: *haranti kām nojjvala-dīpa-kopamair navaiḥ padārthair upapāditāḥ kathāḥ*.

For the second half-verse, I have, with much hesitation, given the explanation of M. Boyer as this seems to be better than that proposed by Sāyaṇa; I feel however very doubtful whether either of these is the correct explanation.

RV. 4, 3, 13 : *mā kāsyā yakṣám sādam id dhurō gā
mā veśasya pramīnatō māpēḥ |
mā bhrātūr agne ányor ḥyām ver
mā sākhyur dákṣam ripór bhujema ||*

"Do not at any time go to the sacrifice of any enemy (literally, injurer) or harmful neighbour or comrade; do not get into the debt, O Agni, of our crooked brother; may we not suffer from the power of our friend (turned into) enemy." I have already said above (p. 165) that the view of the Indian commentators that *yakṣa* is derived from the root *yaj* is justified by the parallelism of the words *yakṣa* and *yajña* in AV. 8, 9, 8. Sāyaṇa is therefore right in explaining *yakṣa* here as *yajña*, sacrifice. The expression, 'do not get into the debt of our crooked brother,' in pāda c signifies the same as pāda a; it means, 'do not go to the sacrifice of, and partake of the offerings given by, our deceitful brother'; for the term 'debt' when used of a deity with reference to a human, means, as has been shown by Geldner, *l.c.*, pp. 133, 134, the debt that such deity owes to a human in return for the offerings that have been made and

accepted; compare also Bh. *Gitā*, 3, 11-12 in this connection. Similarly, the fourth pāda too, seems to refer indirectly to the same thing, to implore Agni not to attend the sacrifice of the friend who has turned inimical and make him rich and powerful in return. This verse therefore is one of the class that implore the deities not to favour by their presence the sacrifices of rival *yajamānas*; see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I, pp. 119 ff.; and Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* 1906, no. 10, p. 1049 ff.

RV. 7, 55, 16: *átyāso ná yé marútaḥ sváñco
yakṣadṝśo ná śubháyanta máryāḥ |
té harmyeṣṭhāḥ śíśavo ná śubhrā
vatsāso ná prakrīlināḥ payodhāḥ ||*

“They who are swift like coursers, the youths, (*sc.* Maruts) made themselves bright (that is, decked themselves with ornaments), like people that (go to) see sacrifices; they are radiant like children that are in mansions and frisky like calves that drink”. *Sāyaṇa* explains *yakṣa* here as *utsava*, festival. Now, *yakṣa*, as we know, means ‘sacrifice,’ ‘worship’; and many of the Soma-sacrifices were in fact grand festivals and are explicitly called or described by the name of *utsava* in the *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*.

Compare, for instance, the following passages: *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, 4, 3, 3 ff.:

*Bṛhaspatisavaṁ nāma samārebhe kratūttamam ||3||
tasmin brahmārṣayāḥ sarve devaṛṣi-piṭṛ-devatāḥ |
āsan kṛta-svastiyayanāś tatpatnyāś ca sabhaṛtyākāḥ ||4||
tad upaśrutya nabhasi khecarāṇāṁ prajalpatām |
Sati dākṣāyaṇī devī piṭur yajñā-mahotsavam ||5||
vrajanṭiḥ sarvato digbhyā upadeva-varastriyāḥ |
vīmānayānāḥ sapreṣṭhā niṣṭa-kauṇṭhīḥ suvāsasāḥ ||6||
dṛṣṭvā svā-nīlāyābhyāśe lolākṣīr mṛṣṭa-kuṇḍalāḥ |
patīm Bhūtāpatīm devam autsukyād abhy-abhāṣata ||7||*

Saty uvāca :

*prajāpates te śvaśurasya sāṁpratam
niryāpito yajñā-mahotsavaḥ kila ||8ab||
paśya prayāntir abhavānya-yoṣito
'pyalaṅkṛtāḥ kāntasakhā varūthaśaḥ ||12ab||*

“(Dakṣa) began the sacrifice known as *Brhaspatisava* to which went in well-being all the Brahmarṣis, the Devarṣis, pitṛs and devas, and also their wives with their husbands. Satīdevī, the daughter of Dakṣa, hearing of this from the chatter of those going in the sky, and seeing near her dwelling the wives of Upadevas (*i.e.*, of Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, etc.) going with their husbands in *vimānas* from all directions, wearing fine clothes and necklaces and brilliant ear-rings and with eyes glancing here and there, said to her lord Śiva in excitement: ‘The grand festival-like sacrifice of thy father-in-law, the Prajāpati, has, I hear, commenced See also other women going there in troops, wearing jewels, in the company of their husbands, O thou that art birth-less.’”

Mahābhārata, 2, 72, 1: *tataḥ sa Kururājasya
sarva-karma-samṛddhimān |
yajñāḥ pṛitikaro rājan
sambabhu viṇulotsavaḥ ||*

“Then was celebrated, O king, the sacrifice of the Kuruid king in which not one rite was wanting, the grand festival, causing delight.”

Ibid. 14, 90, 43 :

*evāṁ babhūva yajñāḥ sa Dharmarājasya dhīmataḥ |
tam mahotsava-samkāśām hrṣṭa-puṣṭa-janākulam |
kathayanti sma puruṣā nānā-deśa-nivāśināḥ ||*

“Then took place that sacrifice of the wise Dharmarāja And this sacrifice that was like a great festival and was attended by many joyous and thriving people was extolled by people that lived in different countries (who were present at it).”

Read also the descriptions of the Rājasūya sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhīra given in the Mahābhārata (2, 71) and Bhāgavata, 10, 75.

It is therefore not surprising if, in the circumstances, the word *yakṣa*, meaning 'sacrifice' took on the meaning of *utsava* also, though as regards this verse, it is not necessary to assume this latter meaning for *yakṣa*. The original meaning itself, namely, 'sacrifice,' fits in well with the context here. Compare the passage cited above from the Bhāgavata where it is said that the wives of Upadevas were going to the *yajña-mahotsava* wearing fine clothes and jewels in the company of their husbands, and the passage cited above (p.155) from the Jñātādharmakathā that describes the dress and jewels worn by ugras, ugraputras, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, etc., on days of Indramaha, Yakṣamaha and similar other utsavas. See also the description of the city and people on the occasion of *kaumudi-mahotsava* given in *Hemādri*, *l.c.*, p. 352 and in Jñātādharmakathā, p. 536. It becomes clear from all these that the people used to put on in former times (as in fact they do now) fine clothes and jewels when going to grand sacrifices or other utsavas; and the Maruts are compared with such people because they always deck themselves with ornaments; see 5, 54, 11; 5, 55, 6; 5, 60, 4, etc., and Macdonell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 79.

śubhrāh, radiant, in pāda 3, means, as is indicated by the context, 'clean, speckless, spotless'; and *payodhāḥ vatsāḥ* means 'young calves'.

Gobhila-ṛgṛhyasūtra, 3, 4, 28 : *ācāryam sapariṣatkam abhyetyācāryapariṣadam iksate yakṣam ita cakṣuṣaḥ priyo bhūyāsam iti* ||

"Approaching the teacher with his entourage, he looks at the teacher and entourage (saying): 'May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice.'" I have here, like M. Boyer and Geldner, construed *cakṣuṣaḥ* with *priya*. Oldenberg has, however, contended (*RV. Noten*, II,

p. 45) that this is not right and that such construction would be proper only if the text had read *yakṣam ita cakṣuṣo vah priyo bhūyāsam*. He therefore maintains that the correct meaning is, “ May I be dear to you as the wonderful thing is to the eye ” (as already noted above, *yakṣa*=‘wonderful thing’ for Oldenberg) and that the ‘wonderful thing’ here is the pupil of the eye ! But, apart from the consideration that one fails to understand why the pupil of the eye should be called a ‘wonderful thing’ (the passage from Śat. Br. to which Oldenberg refers has no bearing at all in this connection) the idea of comparing a thing to the pupil of the eye in respect of dearness is one that is foreign to Sanskrit literature.

As regards however the above-mentioned contention itself, it must be admitted that there is some force in it ; but, as *yakṣa* does not mean ‘pupil of the eye’ but ‘sacrifice’ (or perhaps *utsava*) here, it makes in effect no difference whether *cakṣuṣaḥ* is construed with *priya*, or not. In the first case, the meaning is, “ May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice ”. In the second case, the meaning is, “ May I be pleasing to you as a sacrifice is pleasing to the eye ”; and the expression ‘may I be pleasing to you’ here obviously means ‘may I be pleasing to your eye.’ In any case, therefore, the sense of the mantra is, “ May I be dear to your eyes as a grand sacrifice ; may you have as much pleasure in looking at me as people have in looking at a grand sacrifice or other similar *utsava*.” Compare RV. 7, 84, 3 : *kṛtām no yajñām vidátheṣu cārum kṛtām brāhmāṇi sūriṣu praśastā* ‘Make our sacrifice handsome (or beloved) amongst assemblies, make our hymns laudable amongst poets’ ; 10, 100, 6 : *yajñāś ca bhūd vidáthe cārur ántamah* ‘May the sacrifice be handsome (or dear) and most cherished in the assembly’ ; and the expression *cārum adhvarām* 1, 19, 1 and 5, 71, 1. See also *Mahābhārata*, 14, 90, 43 cited above from which we learn that the

people of all countries flocked to see the sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhira and 2, 72, 1 *ibid.* where the epithet *prītikara* is applied to the sacrifice.

Compare also *ibid.*, 2, 71, 44-45 :

lokesmin sarva-viprāś ca vaiśyāḥ sūdrā nṛpādayaḥ !
sarve mlecchāḥ sarvajanāś tv ādi-madhyāntajāś tathā ||44||
nānādeśa-samudbhūtair nānājātibhir āgataiḥ |
paryāpta iva lokoyam Yudhiṣṭhira-nivesane ||45||

“ All the Brāhmaṇas in this world and all Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, all Mlecchas, and all people of all castes, the highest, lowest and middle castes, (were there). From the people, born in different countries and of different castes, that were present there, it seemed as if the whole world was contained in the dwelling of Yudhiṣṭhira ”; and *ibid.*, 2 71, 16 :

Jambūdvīpo hi sakalo nānājanapadāyutah |
rājann adṛsyataikastho rājñāś tasmin mahākratau ||

‘ The whole of Jambūdvīpa with all its different countries, O king, was seen assembled at one place in the grand sacrifice of that king.’ These grand sacrifices were thus so beloved that the people used to flock to them.

I take the word *ācāryapariṣadām* as a *dvandva* compound meaning ‘ the teacher and his entourage.’

AV. 11, 6, 10 : *dīvām brūmo nākṣatrāṇi*
bhūmīm yakṣāṇi párvatāṇi |
samudrā nadyo veśantāś
té no muñcantv áṁhasaḥ ||

“ We praise the sky, the constellations of stars, the earth, the trees, and the mountains. The oceans, rivers and ponds—may they free us from evil.” The word *yakṣāṇi* here has been explained as Yakṣas (followers of Kubera) by Henry (*Les Livres X, XI et XII de l’ Atharvāvēda*, pp. 118 and 155), Bloomfield (*Hymns of the Atharvāvēda*, p. 161), and Hillebrandt (*Garbe-festschrift*,

p. 22) and as 'Naturwunder und Naturschönheiten wie die grossen Bäume' by Geldner (*l.c.* p. 143). Geldner's explanation is almost correct, but the way by which he arrives at it is not, in my opinion, the proper way. *yakṣāni* signifies trees here not because *yakṣa* means 'Wunder,' *citra*, but because the trees are here regarded as the abode of Yakṣas or superhuman beings.

I have said above (p. 156) that the temples dedicated to Yakṣas had the name of *caitya* also. This name *caitya*, it may be remarked, is applied to trees also, to trees that are wellgrown and rich in foliage and are regarded as being the abodes of superhuman beings; cp. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, 2, 4, 2: *caityo devatarur devāvāse karabha-kuñjaraū*: *Mahābhārata*, 12, 68, 44f. *caityānām sarvathā tyājyam* *api patrasya pātanum* ||44|| *devānām āśrayāś caityā yakṣa-rākṣasabhoginām* | *piśāca-pannagānām ca gandharvāpsarasām* *api* | *raudrāṇām caiva bhūtānām* *tasmāt tān parivarjayet* and also the *Mahābhārata* verse given in 1, 49, *Hiḍimbavadha* in Bopp's *Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel*. The name *caitya* thus is applied to a tree for the same reason that it is applied to a temple—namely, because the tree is, like the temple, the abode of a *yakṣa*, *bhūta* or other supernatural being and is thus holy and deserving of worship. The same is the case with the word *yakṣa* also; this name is applied to temples as also to trees, that are the abodes of *yakṣas*, *bhūtas* or similar superhuman beings and are thus holy and deserving of worship. I have cited above (p. 156) instances of the word *yakṣa* denoting temples; this verse offers an instance of the word *yakṣa* denoting trees.

This closes the list of passages where the word *yakṣa* (neuter) occurs. M. Boyer however is of opinion that this word *yakṣa* is found, further, (as a component of the word *yakṣya*) in RV. 8, 60, 3 also: *āgne kavīr vcdhā* *asi hótā pāvaka yákṣyah* | *mandrō yájiṣṭho adhvaréṣv īdyo* *viprebhiḥ* *śukra* *mánmabhiḥ* and has explained *yakṣya*

there as 'having a marvellous form.' As he has himself observed, however, (*l.c.*, p. 394) the expression *hótā pāvaka yáksyāḥ* in 8, 60, 3 is parallel to *agnih pāvaka- ká idyāḥ* in 3, 27, 4, to *súciḥ pāvaka idyāḥ* in 7, 15, 10, and to *súciḥ pāvaka vāndyāḥ* in 2, 7, 4; and since the word *yakṣa* itself is, as has been shown above, derived from the root *yaj*, there is not the least doubt that *yakṣya* comes from *yaj* 'to worship.' I believe therefore that the verse means: "Thou, O Agni, art the wise one, the worshipper, and the adorable hotṛ, O purifier; thou art dear, the most capable in sacrificing, praised in sacrifices, O brilliant one, with hymns by priests."

The meanings of *yakṣa* therefore are: 1. worship, sacrifice (and perhaps *utsava*, festival). 2. (a) being (concrete), beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil beings, evil spirits; (b) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. The meanings enumerated under 2. are those of the word *bhūta* which is a synonym of *yakṣa* and of *sattva* which is a synonym of *bhūta*; they seem to be *rūḍhi* meanings, while those enumerated under 1 are clearly *yoga* meanings.

It becomes apparent from what has gone above that *yakṣa* masculine has the same relation to *yakṣa* neuter as *bhūta* masculine bears to *bhūta* neuter. *bhūta* neuter has a large number of meanings (see above; see also Apte, s.v., and PW) including those of 'being (concrete), a class of superhuman being; evil being'; while *bhūta* masculine has these meanings only and no other. Similarly *yakṣa* masculine too means the same, namely, 'being (concrete), superhuman being, evil being' while *yakṣa* neuter signifies these things, and also, many other things in addition. Similar too, it may be noted, is the relation of *sattva* masculine to *sattva* neuter; the masculine word signifies 'being (concrete), not-human being, (and not 'superhuman being' only; *sattva* is used

of animals), evil being' while the neuter word has these as well as other significations.

This explains the use of the word *yakṣa* masculine in Buddhist literature in contexts where the usual meaning of *guhyaka* or 'follower of Kubera' is inappropriate, and where therefore the translators have in some cases felt perplexed. Thus, in *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 2, 25 (and elsewhere too; see Index to the Transl. of *Sam. Nik.* in *SBE.*, vol. 10), Māra (who is not a *guhyaka* or follower of Kubera) is called a *yakkha*; in the *Milinda-pañha*, IV. 4. 32 (p. 202), the term *yakkha* is used in connection with Devadatta and the Bodhisatta who were at that time (see *Jātaka-story* No. 457; vol. IV, pp. 100 ff.) born as *devaputtas*. Similarly, in the translation of this book (*SBE.* vol. 35, p. 289, n. 2), Prof. Rhys Davids has observed that 'this is by no means the only instance of the term *yakkha* being used of gods.' In the same way, Prof. Kern has noted (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 59, n. 9) that the epithet *yakkha* is applied sometimes to Indra (e.g., in *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 251) and the Buddha (f. i. in *ibid.*, I, p. 386: *āhuṇeyyo yakkho uttama-puggalo atulo*) and that it is used of *devaputtas* in *Sam. Nik.*, I., p. 54.²² The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* too is found used in *Sam. Nik.* III, 4, 25 and IV, 11, 14-15: *ettāvat' aggam pi vadanti h' eke yakkhassa suddhim idha pāṇḍitāse* which Fausböll has translated (*SBE.*, vol. 10, p. 167) as: "Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the *yakkha*," without however saying anything as to what is intended by the 'purification of the *yakkha*'.

In the light of what has been said above about the meaning of the word *yakṣa*, it is easy to see that this word means 'evil being' when it refers to Māra. When

²² Similarly Otto Franke in his translation of parts of the *Dighanikāya*, has observed on p. 94, note 6, that the word *yakkha* is used occasionally to signify *devas* also.

used in connection with *devaputtas*, it means in all probability, 'superhuman being,' while when used of Indra and the Buddha, it is probable that it signifies, as has been suggested by Kern (*l.c.*), 'a being to be worshipped or a mighty being'—a meaning that combines in itself the two different significations of 'being (concrete)' and of 'worship' or 'might' (see p. 21 above). The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* which is equivalent to *bhūtasya suddhi* or *bhūta-suddhi* is somewhat ambiguous. In Tāntrik practice, the term *bhūtaśuddhi* signifies the cleansing or purification of the *bhūtas* or elements ('earth,' 'water,' 'fire,' etc.), that make up the body of the worshipper, and is one of the many preliminary acts that precede and lead up to the worship proper of the chief deity; see *Principles of Tantra* (II, pp. 365 ff.) by A. Avalon, pp. 41 ff., of *Mantramahārṇava*, ch. 8 of *Devī-bhāgavata*, etc.; compare also *Rāmatāpanīyupaniṣad*, 5, 1 : *bhūtādikāṁśodhayed dvārapūjāṁ ca kṛtvā padmādyāsanasthāḥ prasannāḥ* "(The worshipper) should cleanse the elements (of his body) etc., then after worshipping the gates, assuming the *padmāsana* or other posture, with calm mind" I feel however doubtful if it is this Tāntrik practice that is referred to by the *Śaṁ. Nik.*, the more so, as this is a preliminary act to which not much importance is attached. And I am inclined to believe that the *bhūtaśuddhi* mentioned here refers perhaps to the cleansing or purification of the *bhūta*—being or self, through the eradication of what Apastamba calls *bhūtadāhīyā doṣāḥ* 'blemishes or vices that sear, that is, destroy, the being or self,' consisting of anger, elation, covetousness, etc.; see *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, 1, 23, 5. By the eradication of these through *yoga*, says Āpastamba, the wise man attains 'security(*abhyaya*)'—an expression which is explained by Haradatta as *abhyayāṁ mokṣam*, 'the liberation where there is no more fear'; compare *ibid.*, 1, 23, 3 : *doṣāṇāṁ tu nirghāto yogamūla iha jīvite | nirhr̥tya bhūtadāhīyān*

kṣemāṁ gacchati pāṇḍitāḥ “In this life, the destruction of vices (is to be accomplished) by means of yoga; after getting rid of the vices that sear the being, that is, the self, the wise man attains security.” Compare also *ibid.*, 1, 23, 6: *tāny anutiṣṭhan vidhinā sārvagāmī bhavati* “He who practises these (*yogas* that eradicate the *bhūtadāhīya-dosas*) according to rule, attains the All.” A third interpretation also is possible of the term *yakkhasya suddhi*; *yakṣaśuddhi* or *bhūtaśuddhi* or ‘the purification of the being (self)’ may be understood as the purification of the being or *sattvaśuddhi* that is spoken of in Ch. Up., 7, 26, 2: *āhāra-śuddhau sattva-śuddhiḥ sattva-śuddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ | smṛtilambhe sarvagrānthinām vipramokṣaḥ | tasmai mr̥ditakaṣāyāya tamasāḥ pāram darśayati bhagavān Sanatkumāraḥ* “When the food becomes pure, the being (*sattva*; according to Śaṅkara, this denotes *antahkarāṇa* here) becomes pure; when the being becomes pure, an unfailing memory (will be established); by the attainment of memory, all knots are severed; and to him whose impurity (*kaṣāya*) is (thus) overcome, Lord Sanatkumāra will show (the Brahman) beyond the darkness.” As the *Śaṁ. Nik.* says nothing more about *yakkhassa suddhi*, of the causes which lead up to it or of the effects which this leads to, it is not possible to determine which of these three ideas was intended by the author; perhaps, it is the second of those mentioned above.

§ 10

ábhva

The word *yakṣā* leads us to the nearly-allied word *ábhva*, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given by the exegetists. This word is enumerated twice in the *Nighaṇṭu*, once amongst the *udaka-nāmāni* (1. 12) and once amongst the *mahan-nāmāni* (3. 3). These two

meanings *udaka* and *mahat*, however, are inadequate to explain the sense of many passages in which the word occurs; and hence Sāyaṇa has, in his *RV. Commentary*, been obliged to suggest other explanations for this word. He thus explains it as 'enemy' (*ābhavatī* *abhvah* *śatruh*) in 1, 39, 8, as 'speed' (*vega*) in 1, 24, 6, as 'cloud' (*megha*) in 1, 168, 9; and even when seemingly retaining the meaning *mahat*, he practically helps himself with new meanings when he explains *abhvā* as *ati-vistrtam* *jagat* in 2, 33, 10, *mahad dhanam* in 5, 49, 5, *mahat karma* in 6, 4, 3, *mahat sarvam vastu-jātam* in 6, 71, 5, and *mahato bhaya-hetoh pāpāt* in 1, 185, 2-8. Of the European expositors, Roth explains the word as 'Unding; Ungeheuer; Unheimlichkeit; ungeheure Macht, Grösse, u. s. w.; Schwüle'; and Grassmann repeats these explanations with the addition of two more, 'der Widerwärtige, das Ungethum; das grauenerregende Dunkel.' Bergaigne, in his article on this word in his *Etudes sur le lexique du RV*, comes to the conclusion that it means 'obscurity; evil in general; demoniacal might,' and in one passage (*Śata. Br. 11, 2, 3, 5*) 'might' in general, while Geldner, in his article on this word in *Ved. St.*, vol. 3 (p. 117 f.), has followed the lead of Roth and set down 'Schrecknis, Graus, Schreckensgestalt, Schreckenserscheinung, Gespenst, Spuk, Popanz' as the meaning of this word. Substantially the same explanation is given of this word by him in his *Glossar* also.

How insufficient these meanings are to explain the sense of the passages in which the word *ābhvā* occurs will become clear to every one who reads Geldner's interpretation of them in the course of his article mentioned above. And particularly, in one of these passages, namely, in *Śata. Br. 11, 2, 3, 3-5*:

atha brahmaiva parārdham agacchat | tat parārdham
gatvaikṣata kathām nū īmāñl lokān pratyaveyām iti | tad
dvābhyām eva pratyavaid rūpcṇa caiva nāmnā ca | sa
yasya kasya ca nāmāsti tan nāma yasyo api nāma nāsti

*yad veda rūpēnedam rūpam iti tad rūpam | etāvad vā idam
yāvad rūpam caiva nāma ca | te haite brahmaṇo mahatī
abhe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī abhe veda mahad
dhaivābhvam bhavati | te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe |
sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva
yakṣam bhavati ||*,

it is hard to believe, as Geldner would have us do, that *nāma* and *rūpa* are here to be understood as the two *ghore rūpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, and that he who thus knows *nāma* and *rūpa* as the two *ghore rūpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, becomes himself a *ghoram rūpam* or *Popanz* or *Phantom*.

The clue to the real meaning of the word *abhva* is contained in the above-cited passage itself, in which the sentence *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī abhe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī abhe veda mahad dhaivābhvam bhavati* is closely parallel to the sentence following: *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva yakṣam bhavati* This parallelism indicates that the word *abhva* has the same value as the word *yakṣa*. Now in the article preceding on *yakṣa*, I have shown that this word has the value of *bhūta* and that it means (a) being (concrete); beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; (b) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. These are the meanings of *abhva* also, and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the passages where this word occurs. I begin with the above-cited passage Śata. Br. 11, 2, 3, 3-5, which I translate as—

“Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, ‘How can I descend again into these worlds?’ It then descended again by means of these two—Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is Name; and

that again which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'This is (its) form,' is Form: as far as there are Form and Name, so far, indeed, (extends) this universe. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex*-sistences) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex*-sistences) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being."

Śata. Br. 3, 2, 1, 25-28: *so 'yajñ yajñō vācam abhidadhyau mithuny etyā syām iti | tām saṁbabhūva | indro ha vā īkṣāṁcakre | mahad vā ito 'bhvām janīyate | yajñasya ca mithunād vācaś ca | yan mā tan mā'bhībhaved iti sa indra eva garbho bhūtvaitan mithunām pravivesa | sa ha saṁvatsare jāyamāna īkṣāṁcakre | mahā-vīryā vā iyām yonir yā mām adīdharaata | yad vai meto mahad evābhvām nānuprajāyeta yan mā tan nābhībhaved iti | tām prati-parāmṛṣyāveṣṭyācchinat ||*

"That Yajña (sacrifice) lusted after Vāc (speech) thinking, 'May I pair with her.' He united with her. Indra then thought within himself, 'Surely a great being will be born out of this union of Yajña and Vāc: [I must take care] lest it should vanquish me.' Indra himself then became an embryo and entered into that union. When being born after a year's time, he thought within himself, 'Verily, of great potency is this womb which has contained me: [I must take care] that no great being will be born from it after me, that it should not vanquish me.' Having seized and pressed it tightly, he cut it off."

RV. 1, 63, 1: *tvām mahān indra yó ha śūsmair
dyāvā jañānāḥ pṛthivi āme dhāḥ |
yād dha te vīśvā girāyaś cid ábhvā
bhiyā dṛlhāsaḥ kirāṇā naījan ||*

“Thou art great, O Indra, that, when being born, didst set Heaven and Earth in agitation through thy strength ; and when, from fear of thee, all beings, even firm mountains, trembled like particles of dust.” The correct reading is *visvā* and *ábhvā*, neuter, as given in the *Padapātha* (see also Bergaigne, *op. cit.*), and not *visvāḥ* and *ábhvāḥ* as assumed by Roth (*PW*) and Geldner (*op. cit.*). *visvā ábhvā=visvāni bhūtāni*=all beings, that is, the creation, the world, the universe ; and Bergaigne (*op. cit.*) has rightly observed that ‘*visvā . . . ábhvā* sont l’expression d’un tout dont les montagnes, *girāyaś cit*, font partie.’ Compare 1, 61, 14: *asyēd u bhiyā girāyaś ca dṛlhā dyāvā ca bhūmā janūṣas tujete*; 4, 17, 2: *tāva tvīśo jánimān rejata dyaū réjad bhūmir bhiyāsā svāsyā manyóh | ḷghāyānta subhvāḥ párvatāśā ḫrdan dhānvāni sarāyanta ḫpāḥ ||*

2, 33, 10: *árhan bibhṛṣi sāyakāni dhānvā-*
rhan niṣkām yajatām viśvārūpam |
árhann idām dayase viśvam ábhvām
nā vā ójīyo rudra tvād asti ||

“Thou, O venerable, carriest bow and arrows ; thou, O venerable, the all-formed necklace deserving of worship. Thou, O venerable, rulest all this universe ; there is none, O Rudra, more mighty than thou.” Or, should we take *ábhvām* here in the sense of ‘evil being’ and translate the third pāda as ‘Thou, O venerable, cuttest to pieces all the evil beings here’ (compare Max Müller’s translation in *SBE*. 32, 427: ‘Worthily thou cuttest every fiend here to pieces’) or as ‘Thou, O venerable, rulest all these evil beings’? Rudra is, as we know, the lord of all evil beings (known as *pramatha* or *bhūta* in later literature) not only in post-Vedic literature but even in the *Yajus-samhitās* ; compare *TS. IV. 5, 11, 1: yé (sc. *rudrāḥ*)bhūtānām ádhipatayo viśikhāsah kapardīnāḥ*. Compare also *Śāṅkh. SS. 4, 20, 1* and Sāyaṇa’s commentary, *eṣa devaḥ | eṣa iti hastena pradarśya rudro ‘bhidhīyate | tat*

*tasmād eva kāraṇād asya rudrasyaital lokaprasiddham
bhūtaśabdopetam nāma saṃpannam | bhūtāpatir iti bhūtavan
nāma* on AB. 3, 33, 1-2.

6, 71, 5: *úd ū ayāñ upavaktēva bāhū
hiraṇyāyā savitā suprātikā |
divō rōhāmsy aruhat pṛthivyā
áriyamat pūtāyat kāc cid ábhvam ||*

“He, Savitṛ, raised high his (two) golden well-formed arms, like a speaker; he climbed over the heights of heaven and of the earth; he stopped all swift-moving beings.” *upavaktā*=a speaker, one who harangues others, an orator; that is, one who calls for the attention of other people. To attract attention, such speaker holds his hands high; compare Ratnapālanṛpākathānaka (Bhavnagar ed., p. 5), st. 106: *nivartayantī tumulam hastam utkṣipya dūrataḥ | avocat spāṣṭa-vācaivam saṃrabdhān sarva-bhūbhujah*; ZDMG. 54, 529: *yogindraḥ śanais-śanair dhyānam muktvā hasann evam uvāca | kiṁ kasmai pṛadīyate | kas trāyate bhavārṇavāt | sa nara ūrdhva-bāhur evam jagāda | dhanāyāham tavātithih*; Bhārata-pañcadaśopodghāta, p. 26: *satyam satyam punah satyam uddhṛtya bhujam ucyate | Bhāratān na parām sāstraṁ cāsti loke mahārthadam*. So also does Savitṛ; compare 2, 38, 2: *viśvasya hī śruṣṭāye devā ūrdhvāḥ pṛā bāhāvā pṛthūpāniḥ sisarti | āpaś cid asya vratā ā nīmrgrā ayām cid vāto ramate pārijman*. “He, the god (sc. Savitṛ) with wide-extending hands, holds forth his arms aloft for the hearing of the universe (that is, that the world may pay attention to him and hear him); even the Waters follow his law; this Vāta even stops in his course (at his command).”¹

¹ Ludwig translates the first pāda as, ‘wie ein upavaktar [priester] hat er die arme emporgestreckt,’ and, on p. 226 of vol. III (of his *RV. Ueber*), too, writes as follows :

“VI, 71, 5. wie ein upavaktar hat er seine arme ausgestreckt, Savitar, der gott: dies kann nicht im allgemeinen ‘wie ein herbeiruender’ bedeuten, weil das ausstrecken der arme zunächst nicht das

I follow Sāyaṇa in asking *patayat* as a participle. The sense of the third pāda is, 'he checks, he causes to stop, all things.' Compare 2, 38, 3 : *áriramad átamānam cid étoḥ | ahyársūnām cin ny àyāñ avisyām* "He (*sc.* Savitṛ) stopped even the swift-moving (wind) from moving ; he checked the course of even those who were pressing forward like ahīs." Compare 2, 38, 2 explained above and also 7, 56, 19 : *imé turām marúto rāmayanti* "These Maruts bring the swift-moving one to a halt."

1, 92, 5 : *práty arcí rúśad asyā adarsí
ví tiṣṭhate bādhate kṛṣṇām ábhvam |
svárūm ná péśo vidátheṣv añjāñ
citrām divó duhitā bhānūm aśret ||*

"Her (*sc.* the Dawn's) bright light is seen ; it spreads itself and dispels the black being. Adorning the sacrificial post in sacrifices as if with an ornament, the Daughter of Heaven has spread her brilliant light."

It is possible to translate *ábhvam* here as 'substance' or as 'evil being' also. In any case the sense of the passage remains the same as it is the darkness that is

herbeirufen als solches charakterisierendes ist, wol aber wenn es sich um ein herbeirufen im speciellen sinne handelt, bei welchem gewisse äusserliche bewegungen regelmässig stattfinden und selbstverständlich sind, wie es eben das ausbreiten der arme bei anrufung der götter überall ist (vgl. III, 14, 5. VI, 16, 46. 63, 3. X, 79, 2)."

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect. In the first place, the verses 3, 14, 5, etc., referred to by Ludwig, allude to the stretching or spreading of the arms in front (*uttānahasta*) ; this is quite different from raising the arms on high which is a characteristic of one who wants to attract the attention of others. Compare the passages cited above. (As a matter of fact, the raising high of the arms is a gesture that is used every-where by every one, including school-children, to attract the attention of other people). Secondly, not one of the Śrauta ritual books prescribe that the *upavaktr* (that is, the *maitrāvaraṇa* or *praśāstry*; see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda ², 390: Ludwig's suggestion that he is the *acchāvāka* is untenable) should raise his hands high on any occasion.

referred to by that word (see Bergaigne, *op. cit.*). Compare 7, 77, 1 : *ákar jyótir bādhamānā támānsi*, "She (*sc.* Uṣas) made light after dispelling darkness"; 7, 78, 2 : *uṣā yāti jyótisā bādhamānā vísivā támānsi duritāpa devi* "The goddess Uṣas goes, dispelling with her light all darkness and evil"; 7, 80, 2 : *gūdhvī támō jyótisōṣā abodhi* "She (*sc.* Uṣas) has awakened hiding the darkness with her light."

The sense of the third pāda is not very clear. I follow Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 2, 124) in taking *añján* as standing for *añjantī* and translate it as above. The top of the sacrificial post that is touched and illuminated by the bright ray, *citró bhānūḥ*, of the Dawn appears as if adorned with ornaments; and hence, Uṣas is said to adorn the post, as it were, with a jewel. Compare 1, 92, 1: *etā u tyā uṣásah ketúm akrata pūrve árdhe rájaso bhānúm añjate*; 7, 79, 2 : *vy añjate divó ántesv aktún vísó ná yuktā uṣáso yatante*; 7, 78, 1 : *práti ketávah prathamā adṛśrann ūrdhvā asyā añjáyo vī śrayante*; 1, 113, 14 : *vy añjíbhir divá átāsv adyaut*, where Uṣas is said to 'adorn' with her rays or where her rays themselves are called ornaments, and also 3, 8, 9 : *śukrā vásānāḥ sváravo na āguḥ* "The sacrificial posts bearing bright ornaments have come to us", where the ornaments of sacrificial posts are referred to.

4, 51, 9 : *tā in nv evá samanā sámānīr
ámitavarṇā uṣásas caranti |
gūhantīr ábhvam ásitam rúsadbhīḥ
śukrās tanúbhīḥ śicayo rucānāḥ ||*

"They that are alike, the Dawns, whose brilliance is undimmed, now go alike on their way, covering the black being with their bright selves, they that are brilliant, pure and effulgent."

1, 140, 5 : *ād asya té dhvasáyanto vṛtherate
kṛṣnám ábhvam máhi várpaḥ kárikrataḥ |
yát sīm malīm avánīm prābhī mármṛśad
abhiśvasán stanáyann éti nānadat ||*

“ Then those (flames) of this (Agni) move swiftly forward destroying the black being, and putting on great splendour when he goes caressing the wide earth, panting, thundering, roaring.” *dhvasáyantah* in the first pāda does not mean ‘sparkling’ as Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 141) understands; nor is the expression *kṛṣṇám ábhvam* the object (Oldenberg, *l.c.*, Geldner, *op. cit.*, p. 121) of *kárikrataḥ* in addition to *máhi várpaḥ*. As the passage *rátho ha vāṁ bhūri várpaḥ kárikrat* (‘your chariot that has put on much splendour’) in 3, 58, 9 shows, *várpaḥ* alone is the object of *kárikrataḥ* in the above verse, and not *kṛṣṇám ábhvam* also. This latter is the object of *dhvasáyantah*, ‘destroying, pulverising,’ which is derived from the root *dhvas*, *dhvāś* ‘to destroy, to pulverise.’

AV. 4, 17, 5 (=7, 23, 1): *daúścaṇyam̄ daúrjīvityam̄*
rákṣo abhvām arāyyaḥ |
durṇāmnīḥ sárvā durvācas
tā̄ asmān nāśayāmasi |

“ Evil-dreaming, evil-living, demon, evil being, hags, all the ill-named, ill-voiced,—these we make disappear from us.

AV. 13, 6, 4: *sá evá mṛtyúḥ sò 'mṛtam̄*
sò 'bhvām̄ sá rākṣaḥ |

“ He verily (is) death, he immortality, he the evil being, he the demon.”

RV. 1, 39, 8: *yuṣmēṣito maruto mārtyeṣita*
ā yó no ábhva iṣate |
ví tām̄ yuyota sávasā vy ójasā
ví yuṣmākābhīr ūtibhiḥ ||

“ The evil spirit, O Maruts, that has been sent by you or by mortals, and is rushing on us—remove it from us by strength, by might, through your protections.” *ūti*, protection, denotes here really the deeds of prowess done by the Maruts in order to protect; compare 1, 129, 5: *ní śū namātimatīm káyasya cit téjisthābhīr arāṇibhīr nótibhīr ugrābhīr ugrotibhīḥ* “ Suppress well the pride of any one with thy fierce protections, *i.e.*, deeds of

prowess, that are most brilliant like firesticks, O thou fierce one." According to Sāyaṇa, Max Müller (SBE. 32, 97) and Ludwig, the second distich means, 'deprive him of power, of strength, and of your favours.' This interpretation however implies that the Maruts sometimes help the evil spirits sent by mortals, and hence does not seem to be satisfactory.

1, 169, 3 : *ámyak sâ ta indra rṣtîr asmé
sánemy ábhvam̄ marúto junanti |
agniś cid dhí smâtasé šušukvân
âpo ná dvipám̄ dâdhâti prayâmsi ||*

"That spear of thine, O Indra, has been attached (to thy body) on our behalf; the Maruts drive away totally the evil being. He has burnt up (the evil spirits) as Agni does brushwood; they bear food as the Waters, the island." This stanza is obscure, and in pâdas c and d there is nothing to indicate who it is that is said to be *šušukvân* and to carry food. According to Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 222), who refers to the occurrence of the phrase *dadhâti prayâmsi* in 3, 30, 1 and 10, 91, 9 (10, 91, 1 is a misprint), the two pâdas refer to the men who prepare the sacrifice; *šušukvân* stands really for *šušukvâmsah* and the meaning of the two pâdas is, "denn wie Feuer im Gestrüpp glühend bereiten sie (die Priester) ein Gastmahl wie die Gewässer eine Insel." Regarding pâda a, he observes that the translation 'dein Speer hat sich gegen uns gerichtet' does not fit well in the context and that, moreover, nowhere in the RV is a *rṣtî* spoken of in connection with Indra. He is therefore inclined to connect this word *rṣtî* with *vrṣtî* in 1, 52, 5; 14 (cf. *vrṣabhbâ* and *rṣabhbâ*) and *rṣvâ*, and translates pâda a as 'An uns hat sich deine Hoheit (?), O Indra, angeschlossen.' Pâda b he translates as 'Die Marut setzen ihre gewaltige Erscheinung vollständig in Bewegung.'

All this seems to me to be hardly satisfactory. I think that pâdas c and d refer, like a and b, to Indra and

the Maruts respectively. Regarding c, compare 6, 18, 10: *agnír ná śúśkam vánam indra hetí rákṣo ní dhakṣi* “ Burn the evil spirits with thy weapon, O Indra, as Agni does dry forests.” I take *cit* here as an *upamā-vācaka*; compare *Nirukta*, 1, 4, 13; *Nighaṇṭu*, 3, 13; and Geldner’s translation, cited above, of this stanza.

Regarding *rṣti*, it is true that, as observed by Geldner, this word is nowhere else in the RV used to denote the weapon of Indra. But the root *rj* (*rñj*) from which it is derived means ‘to let loose, to throw’ so that *rṣti* denotes primarily that which is thrown. It is thus a synonym of *hetí* (from *hi*, ‘to throw, to impel) ‘missile, weapon’ which is used in connection with Indra in 6, 18, 10 cited above and in other verses. There seems to be no doubt therefore that it denotes the Vajra or other weapon of Indra in the above verse and that pādas a and c together are a paraphrase of 6, 18, 10 cited above.

The comparison in pāda d is obscure. The meaning of the pāda seems to be, ‘they, the Maruts, bear food as the Waters bear islands on their bosom.’ Compare in this connection 1, 88, 1: *ā várṣiṣṭhayā na iṣā váyo ná paṭṭatā sumāyāḥ*; 1, 166, 1: *nityam ná sūnūm mádhu bībhṛata úpa kṛiṇanti kṛiṇāḥ*; 5, 55, 1: *marúto bhrājad-rṣṭayo bṛhád váyo dadhire rukmá-vakṣasah*; and 7, 58, 3: *bṛhád váyo maghávadbhyo dadhāta*, in which the Maruts are represented as bringing food to their worshippers.

1, 185, 2: *bhúrim dvé ácarantī cárantam
padvántam gárbham apádī dadhāte |
nityam ná sūnūm pitrór upásthē
dyávā rákṣatam pṛthivī no ábhvāt ||*

This verse has already been translated on p. 6 above. Pāda d is found as the refrain of the six following verses of this hymn.

4, 49, 5. *pṛá yé vásubhya iवad ā námo dúr
yé mitré várūne sūktá-vācaḥ |
ávaitv ábhvam kṛṇutā várīyo
divás-pṛthivyór ávasā madema ||*

“Who offered such adoration to the bright ones, who speak hymns of praise to Mitra and Varuṇa—(from us) let the evil being depart; make (for us) broad space. May we be glad through the favour of Heaven and Earth.” The relative pronoun *yé* in pādas a and b has for antecedent *asmat* (understood) in pāda c. The expression, ‘let the evil being depart, make for us broad space’ means, ‘drive off the evil beings and make the space around us clear of such beings; make us secure.’ The phrase *kṛṇutā vāriyāḥ* has the same sense as *varivāḥ kṛṇotā* (see Grassmann, s.v. *varivāḥ*).

1, 24, 6: *nahī te kṣatrāṁ ná sáho ná manyūṁ
váyaś caṇāmī pātāyanta āpūḥ |
némā āpo animiṣāṁ cárantīr
ná yé vātasya praminānty ábhvamī ||*

“Thy might, thy strength, thy wrath,—even these birds that fly did not attain (i.e., did not measure its extent); nor (did) these waters that move unceasingly, nor they that contemn (i.e., surpass) the might (i.e., the speed) of Vāta.” As explained by Sāyaṇa, *ábhvam*, might, is here equivalent to *vega*; for it is in *vega* that the might of Vāta is chiefly manifested. The sense of the fourth pāda is, ‘Not even they that are swifter than the wind, and still less the wind itself, can go beyond reach of thy strength, of thy might, of thy anger.’

1, 168, 9: *ásūta pṛśnir mahaté ráṇāya
tveśāṁ ayāśāṁ marūtāṁ ánikam |
té sapsārāśo 'janayantábhvam
ād it svadhāṁ iṣirāṁ pāry apaśyan ||*

“Pṛśni brought forth for the great fight the terrible troop of the impetuous Maruts. They, alike in form, produced (i.e. made manifest) their might and then saw around them the invigorating food.” The sense of the second distich is obscure. *sapsārāśah*=alike in form; see *Ved. St.*, 3, 197, and *svadhā*=*sudhā*, the food of the gods; see pp. 41 f. above.

2, 4, 5 : अ यान् मे अभ्वाम् वानादः पानन-
 तोशिग्भ्यो नामिमिता वार्णम् ।
 सा चित्रेणा चिकिते राम्सु भासाः
 जुजुर्वान् यो मुहुर अ युवां भृत ॥

The import of the first two pādas of this stanza is not clear. *vanādah* is a hapax legomenon and is regarded by Oldenberg (SBE. 42, 205; *RV. Noten*, I, 192) as a compound of *van* 'the forest' and of *ad* 'to eat.' The stanza means therefore according to Oldenberg, "When they praised to me the monstrous might of the eater of the forests, he produced his (shining) colour as (he has done) for the Uśijs. With shining splendour he has shone joyously, he who having grown old has suddenly become young (again)." Similarly Geldner too translates the distich as "Was sie mir als das Grossartige des Holzfressers rühmen: Er veränderte seine Farbe wie für die Uśij" in his *RV. Uebersetzung*. In *Ved. St.*, 3, 120, on the other hand, he regarded the word *vanād* as being formed, (like *bhasād*, and *śarād*) from the root *van* with the suffix *ad* and denoting 'wish, prayer'; and he translated the distich as, "Als meine Gebete seine Schreckengestalt abfeilschten, da veränderte er seine Farbe wie für die Uśij." I am inclined to agree with Geldner's former opinion and look upon *vanād* as being derived from the root *van* 'to wish, to long for' with the suffix *ad*. *vanādah* therefore means 'longing, eager,' and denotes, I conceive, the 'eager,' *i.e.*, swift-moving flames of Agni; compare 6, 66, 10: *त्र्यु-स्यावसो जुह्वो नाग्नेह्* 'greedily, *i.e.*, swiftly, moving like the tongues (*i.e.*, flames) of Agni' and the other verses referred to on p. 138 above. I therefore translate the stanza as: "He produced (*i.e.*, put on) splendour as if for the Uśijs when the eager (flames) proclaimed his might to me; he shone with brilliant joyous light, he who having grown old, became again and again young."

Compare in connection with the first pāda, 6, 12, 5 : *आधा स्माश्या पानयान्ति भासो व्यथा यात ताक्षद् अनुयाति*

prthvīm, 'then his splendours (*i.e.*, flames) proclaim his greatness as he, cutting, goes along the earth.' The expressions *āpananta* and *panayanta* in the above verses refer to the sound made by Agni's flames which are here represented as bards attending on kings and heralding their approach, that is, as the *vandināḥ*, *māgadhāḥ* or *sūtāḥ* that are mentioned in later literature as accompanying kings and sounding their praises; compare 9, 10, 3 : *rājāno ná prásastibhiḥ sōmāso góbhīr ajyate*; 9, 65, 6 : *rājā medhābhīr īyate*. In 1, 87, 3 : *swayāṁ mahitvāṁ panayanta dhūtayah*, on the other hand, it is said of the Maruts that they themselves proclaimed their greatness, that is, that they were their own bards.

amimīta in pāda b is derived, as pointed out by Geldner in *Ved. St.*, 3, 119, from the root *mi*, *mī* and not from *mā*. The expression *vārṇam amimīta* is synonymous with the expression *vārpāḥ kārikrat* that we have met with above in 1, 140, 5 and means 'he produced, *i.e.*, put on, splendour or brilliance.' Compare 2, 13, 3 : *rūpā minān tādāpā ēka īyate* and 5, 42, 13 : *rūpā minānō ákṛṇod idām naḥ*. With regard to *mūluḥ*, see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 3, 186 ff.

6, 4, 3 : *dyāvo ná yásya panáyanty ábhvam
bhāsāmīsi vaste sūryo ná śukrāḥ |
vi yá inóty ajárah pāvakó
'śnasya cic chiṣnathat pūrvyāñi ||*

"Whose might they praise like that of Dyaus, he (*sc.* Agni), brilliant like the sun, clothes himself in splendour; he who, bright and unaging, drives away (enemies) and destroyed the old (fortresses) of Aśna even." The sense of the first pāda is not quite clear, and the explanations given of it by Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) and Geldner (*ibid.*, 3, 121) are not very satisfactory. If *dyāvoh* is to be taken as nominative plural (as it has to be in the other RV passages where it occurs) the meaning would be 'whose greatness the heavens (*i.e.*, the sky)

praise as it were.' This is the course followed by Ludwig who has translated the pāda as 'des gewalt die himmel gleichsam bewundern,' which is sufficiently close to the translation given by me above; compare 1, 15, 8: *távā dyaúr indra paúṁsyam̄ pṛthiví vardhati srávah*, 'The sky, O Indra, magnifies thy valour and the earth thy renown.' I believe however that the passage yields better sense if the word *dyávah* is taken as genitive singular and the pāda interpreted as 'of whom they praise the greatness as of Dyaus.' The greatness of Dyaus is referred to in 4, 21, 1: *dyaúr ná kṣatrám̄ abhíbhūti pūṣyāt* 'May he (sc. Indra) flourish, like Dyaus, in might surpassing those of others'; KS. 7, 13: *dyaur mahnāsi bhūmir bhūmnā* 'Thou art Dyaus (the sky) with (in?) greatness, the earth with (in?) vastness' and in 1, 131, 1; 1, 122, 1; etc., where the epithet *asurah*, mighty, is applied to Dyaus. Compare also in this connection 1, 131, 1; 1, 63, 1 and other similar passages, which describe the might of Indra and other deities by saying that even the sky and the earth quaked with fear or drew back with fear at their approach.

This closes the list of passages in which *ābhva* occurs. It will be noted that, like the word *yakṣá*, this word too is used in the masculine as well as in the neuter gender; and there can be no doubt that, like its synonym *yakṣah* (see p. 194), the word *ābhvah* too denotes 'being (concrete); a class of superhuman beings; evil being', while *ābhva* neuter has, like *yakṣá* neuter, these as well as the other meanings mentioned on p. 199 above.

§ 11
admasád

This word, about whose explanation there has been much dispute, is enumerated in 4, 1, amongst difficult words, by the *Nighaṇṭu*; and Yāska, in his commentary

on this section, has explained the word as *admasad* *admānnām bhavaty admasādīnītī vā 'nnasānīnītī vā*, that is, as Durga explains, *grhādhikāre niyuktā anna-sādhikā strī*. This explanation is adopted, in his commentary on RV. 1, 124, 4, by Sāyaṇa who explains the word as *adyata ity adma annam] tasya pākāya gr̥he sīdatiti admasat pācikā yoṣit*, but who gives in addition another explanation of the word—*yad vā admeti gr̥ha-nāma | varūtham admeti tan-nāmasu pāthāt | tatra sīdatītī admasaj jananī*. In the other verses, however, where this word occurs (6, 30, 3; 7, 83, 7; 8, 44, 29) he gives the derivation *admani sīdatītī admasad* and takes the word as a masculine, interpreting *adma* as *havīḥ* in 7, 83, 7 and 8, 44, 29 and also in 6, 4, 4, where the nearly-allied word *admasādvā* is used. In 8, 43, 19, he interprets *adma-sādyāya* as *annasya bhajanāya*.

Like Sāyaṇa, Roth too in the PW understands the word as equivalent to *annasad* or 'one who sits down to food'; he howevers interprets it as *Gast beim Mahle* and the allied word *admasadya* as *Tischgenossenschaft*, an interpretation which was accepted by Bergaigne (*Etudes*, p. 43) but dissented from by Haug (GGA. 1875, p. 80). Geldner, on the other hand, favoured, in *Ved. St.* 2, 179, the explanation reported by Durga as put forward by 'some' that the word signifies *makṣikā* or fly, observing that, in 7, 83, 7, the *Vasiṣṭhas* style themselves flies jokingly. In his *Glossar*, however, he has modified this opinion and said that the word denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 (in his *RV. Ueber.*, too, he has accordingly translated *pāda* as, 'wie eine Fliege weckt sie die Schläfer') and 6, 30, 3, while in 7, 83, 7 it denotes 'der bei dem Opfermahle sitzende Priester.'

Geldner's explanation (in *Ved. St.*, 2, 179) has been criticised by Oldenberg on p. 91 of his *Vedaforschung* where this savant has declared his preference for that proposed by Roth, with the reservation however that he does not believe that it is 'vollkommen sicher.' Similarly,

Hillebrandt too (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 1, n. 3) has rejected the explanation of Geldner and adopted that of Roth in his translation of 1, 124, 4. Dr. Neisser, on the other hand (*Zum Wörterbuch des RI'*), agrees with Geldner in thinking that the word means 'auf die Speise sich setzend,' that it denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 and 6, 30, 3, and that it is, in the other verses, an attribute of Agni and of the priest.

None of these explanations seems to me to be satisfactory. The word *admasád* occurs in but four passages; and I find it difficult to believe with Sāyaṇa and Geldner that, in one passage, it denotes 'fly' or 'cook' (fem.), and in another 'priest.' Similarly I find it difficult to accept Roth's explanation that it means 'guest'; for, nowhere, either in the RV or in any other Vedic or post-Vedic book, do we ever hear of a guest awakening those that are asleep. On the contrary, RV. 8, 44, 1: *saṃidhā 'gnīm duvasyata gṛtair bodhavatā-tithim | āśmin havyā juhotana* seems to suggest that, in the time of the R̥gveda, it was the host that awakened the guest in order to feed him.

Likewise, Yāska's explanation, too, of the word as 'one who sits down to or in food (*annasad*)', is without doubt wrong. The *Nighaṇṭu* mentions in 2, 7 as synonyms of *anna* the following twenty-eight words, namely, *āndhah*, *vāyah*, *páyah*, *práyah*, *prkṣáh*, *pitúh*, *váyah*, *sínam*, *ávah*, *kṣú*, *dhāsīh*, *írā*, *ílā*, *íṣam*, *úrk*, *rásah*, *svadhā*, *arkāh*, *kṣádma*, *némah*, *sasám*, *námah*, *āyuh*, *sūnytā*, *bráhma*, *várcah*, *kīlālam* and *yásah*, of which all are found in the RV with the exception of *némah*. But no verb meaning 'to sit' is found used in the RV in any passage in connection with the locative or dative case of any of these twenty-seven words or of their synonyms *ánnā* and *havīs* also. Nor, I believe, can an instance be met with elsewhere in Vedic or later literature where human beings or divinities are said or exhorted 'to sit in (loc.) or for (dat.) food.' The expression commonly used

in such a situation in later times is *bhoktum* or *bhojanāya upaviśati* or its equivalents, and not *anne* or *annāya upaviśati* and its equivalents (compare for instance Śaṅkara's commentary on Ch. Up. 3, 3, 5: Śaunakāṁ Kāpeyāṁ Kapi-gotram Abhipratāriṇāṁ ca nāmataḥ Kakṣasenasyāpatyāṁ Kākṣasenīṁ *bhojanāyopaviṣṭau* pari-viṣyamāṇau sūpakaṛair brahmacārī brahmavic chaṇḍo bibhikṣe bhikṣitavān). And in the RV itself, a poet in a similar situation has said, (7, 57, 2) ā *vītāye sadata pīpriyāṇāḥ*. Similarly, the idea of *Tischgenossenschaft* is expressed in Sanskrit not by *admasadya* or its equivalents but by the word *sahabhojana* or its equivalents.

In thus becomes evident that neither the explanation of Yāska nor those of the above-mentioned exegetists, based on it, are correct and that the meaning of the word *admasād* is still a riddle. As it happens, the four passages in which the word occurs, as well as other connected passages of the RV, furnish enough clues to enable one to solve this riddle.

It is shown by 1, 124, 4c: *admasán ná sasatá bodhāyantī* that the awakening of others is a characteristic of the *admasādah*; and it is similarly made clear by 6, 30, 3c · *ní párvatā admasádlo ná sduḥ* that sitting down is another characteristic of the *admasādah*. A comparison therefore of the upamānas in the RV passages in which sitting is the *sāmānya-dharma* with the words that are used as subjects of verbs meaning 'to awaken' in other RV passages¹ will show us what persons or things are

¹ Excluding 1, 124, 4, there are but three passages in the RV, namely, 1, 134, 3: (*vāyo*) *prá bodhaya púramdhim jārā ā sasatim iva* : 7, 67, 1: (*stómah*) *yó vām dūtō ní dhiṣṇyāv ájigah* : 7, 73, 3: *śruṣṭivéva pŕesito vām abodhi pŕáti stómair járamāṇo vásishthah* which contain similes in which the *sāmānya-dharma* is the awakening of others. As these are too few in number, I have included in the comparison all the persons or things that are described in the RV as awakening others and not merely those mentioned in the three similes mentioned above.

described by the RV poets as both awakening others and sitting down and will thus enable us to determine the meaning of *admásad*.

The passages containing similes with 'sitting' as *sāmānya-dharma*², in addition to 6, 30, 3: *ní párvalā admasádo ná scduḥ*, are :

9, 38, 4: *śyenó ná vikṣú sīdati*;
 8, 21, 5: *sīdāntas te vāyo yathā*;
 9, 57, 3: *śyenó ná vāṁsu sīdati*;
 8, 65, 9: *śvásity apsú haṁsó ná sīdan*;
 1, 85, 7: *vāyo ná sīdān ádhi barhīsi priyé*;
 9, 61, 21: *sīdañc chyenó ná yónim ā*;
 9, 92, 6: *sīdan mṛgó ná mahisó vāneṣu*;
 9, 96, 23: *sīdan vāneṣu śakunó ná pātvā*;
 9, 62, 4: *śyenó ná yónim āsādat*;
 9, 86, 35: *śyenó ná vāṁsu kalāšeṣu sīdāsi*;
 9, 72, 5: *vér ná druṣácamīr ā sādād dhāriḥ*;
 10, 43, 4: *vāyo ná vṛksām supalāśām ā sādan*;
 1, 168, 3: *sómāso . . . hṛtsú pītāso duvāso nāsate*;
 9, 82, 1: *śyenó ná yónim ghṛtāvāntam āsādām*;
 9, 71, 6: *śyenó ná yónim sādānam dhīyā kṛtām hiraṇyāyam āsādām*;
 10, 115, 3: *tām vo vīm ná druṣādām*;
 6, 3, 5: *vér ná druṣādvā raghupātmajamhāḥ*;
 1, 104, 1: *tām ā ní sīda svānó nārvā*;
 9, 7, 5: *vīśo rājēva sīdati*;
 9, 64, 29: *sīdānta vanūṣo yathā*;
 9, 92, 2: *sīdan hōteva sādānī camūṣu*;
 7, 30, 3: *ny agnīḥ sīdād āsuro ná hōtā*;
 4, 35, 8: *śyenā ivéld ádhi divī niṣedā*;
 10, 43, 2: *rājēva dasma ní ṣadōdhi barhīsi*; and
 7, 32, 2: *mādhau ná mākṣa āsate*;

and the *upamānas* used in such similes are accordingly *śyenāḥ*, *vāyāḥ*, *sómāḥ*, *mākṣāḥ*, *árvā*, *mṛgō mahisāḥ*,

² In reality, the *sāmānya-dharma* in the first eighteen of the passages cited here is not 'sitting,' but swift movement; see p. 96 above and also n. 10 there.

śakunāḥ, haṁśāḥ, rājāḥ, hótā and also *admasád*. The words used as subjects of the verb *jāgr* 'to awaken' are *uṣāḥ, sómaḥ, agníḥ* and *dūtāḥ*, and of the verb *budh* (caus.) 'to awaken' are *śvā, jārāḥ, jāriṇī?*, *agníḥ, īndrah, uṣāḥ, śruṣṭīvā, jaritā, yajña-hotā*,³ and also *admasád*.

It will be seen from the above that, excluding the *admasád*, the only person or thing to which the RV poets attribute the characteristic of 'sitting' and which they at the same time describe as awakening others, is the priest who is called *hotṛ* in 7, 30, 3 and 9, 92, 2 cited above, and *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* in 10, 42, 2: *prá bodhaya jaritar jārām īndram* and 8, 9, 17: *prá bodhayoṣo aśvinā prá devi sūnṛte mahi | prá yajñahotar ānuṣák prá mādāya śrávo ḥṛhát*. And it follows hence that the word *admasád* denotes in all probability the *hotṛ* or the priest who chants the prayers addressed to the gods.⁴

This conclusion is confirmed by 7, 83, 7: *satyā nṛṇām admasádām īpastutih* from which we learn that *admasadana* is an attribute of human beings and 8, 43, 19: *agním dhībhīr maniṣīno médhirāśo vīpaścītaḥ | admasádyāya hinvire* in which it is said that the priests urged Agni to become, or assume the function of, an *admasad*. It becomes evident from these passages that *admasadana* is in all probability equivalent to *hotṛtva*. For, as

³ The *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* are explicitly mentioned as subjects of the verb *bodhay* in 10, 42, 2 and 8, 9, 17. In addition, there is no doubt that the verses 5, 14, 1; 1, 22, 1 and 8, 44, 1 (which according to Sāyaṇa are addressed to the *stotṛ*, *adhvaryu* and *ṛtvijah* respectively) are addressed to the priest and that we have to understand *jaritṛ* or similar word as the subject. In 7, 44, 2 too, the subject *vayām* refers without doubt to the priests or singers.

⁴ I may perhaps observe here that the position is in no way altered if, instead of the *upamānas* in the above-cited similes, we include in our purview all the words that are found used in the RV passages as subjects of verbs meaning 'to sit'. A great majority of such words (e.g., *agníḥ, īndrah, marūtāḥ, etc.*) refer to divinities or to quasi-divinities (*venāḥ, gnāḥ, apsarāsāḥ, pitāraḥ, spāsāḥ*). Since it is clear from 7, 83, 7: *satyā nṛṇām admasádām*

observed by Prof. Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 96): "In consequence of his main function in the Veda of officiating at the sacrifice, Agni comes to be celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is therefore often called generically the 'priest' (*ṛtvij*, *vipra*) or specifically the 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), and constantly, more frequently in fact than by any other name, the 'offerer' (*hotṛ*), or chief priest, who is poet and spokesman in one. He is a Hotṛ appointed by men (8, 49, 1; 10, 7, 5) and by gods (6, 16, 1). He is the most adorable, the most eminent of Hotṛs (10, 2, 1; 91, 8)."

The word *úpastuti* too in 7, 83, 7c cited above can, by its very nature be associated only with priests and is in fact so associated with them in the RV, as likewise are its synonyms *gir*, *stuti*, *stoma*, etc. And this fact too indicates that the expression *admasádo nárah* in the above pāda signifies priests that praise, that it is a synonym of *hótārah* or *jaritārah*.

The above-mentioned considerations thus place it beyond doubt that *admasád* means *hótṛ* or the priest who chants hymns of praise. And that being so, the question arises in our mind, "What is the literal meaning of the word *admasád*, and why does it denote the *hótṛ*?" The clue to the answer of this question is contained in Sāyaṇa's

úpastutih that *admasád* denotes human beings, we have to pass over all such words as also over all the words that denote inanimate things (*párvatāḥ*, *mayúkhāḥ*, *gávyūtih*, *cakrám*, *rājāḥ*) or birds, insects and beasts (*syenāḥ*, *váyāḥ*, *haṁsāḥ*, *śakunāḥ*, *sakúnih*, *gávāḥ*, *mrgó mahiṣāḥ*, *makṣóḥ*) and also *admasád* whose meaning we are investigating, and include in our comparison such words only as refer to human beings. These are—*narāḥ*, *manusyāḥ*, *kanyā*, *dásyuh*, *īṣayah*, *rājā*, *virāḥ*; and *hótā*, *pótā*, *brahmā*, *stotārah*, *sūráyah*, *brahmakýtāḥ*, *sákhāyah*. The last-mentioned four or five words are synonyms of *hotṛ*.

hotṛ, referring to the priest, is found as subject in about ten of the passages in question, and referring to or in apposition with Agni, in about fifteen passages.

words : *yad vā admeti gr̥ha-nāma | varūtham admeti tan-nāmasu pāthāt | tatra sīdatity admasaj jananī* cited on p. 212 above. The reference here is presumably to *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4, which enumerates twenty-two synonyms of *gr̥ha*; but, curiously enough, the word *varūtha* only is found amongst these twenty-two names and not *adman* which is mentioned by Sāyaṇa.⁵ The dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte, however, mention in connection with this word the meaning of house also ; and there is thus no doubt that *adman* is a synonym of *gr̥ha*.

admasád therefore means literally 'one who sits in the house', and through *rūḍhi*, it denotes the *hotṛ* who sits, and sings, in his 'abode'. This abode or seat is called by the name of *sádma* (this is one of the twenty-two *gr̥ha-nāmāni* enumerated in *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4) in 1, 73, 1 : (agnih) hóteva sádma vidható ví tārīt ; 1, 73, 3 : náksad dhótā pári sádma mítā yán ; 7, 18, 22 : hóteva sádma páry emi rébhan ; 9, 92 6 : pári sádmeva paśumánti hótā ; 9, 97, 1 : páry eti rébhan mitéva sádma paśumánti hótā ; and by the name of *sádana* in 9, 92, 2 : sīdan hóteva sádane camūṣu. It is also called *hotṛsádana* in 2, 9, 1 : ní hótā hotṛsádane vídānas tveṣo didivāñ asadat sudákṣah.

The *hotṛ* and his 'abode'⁶ were, as is natural, very familiar to the RV poets ; and he was, in their minds, so

⁵ All the editions of the *Nighaṇṭu* mention as the twenty-second word of this section the word *ajma*, of the use of which in the sense of *gr̥ha* not one instance has so far been met with. It is not therefore improbable that the original text of the *Nighaṇṭu* read *adma* and not *ajma* in 3, 4. It is in any case very likely that the text which was known to Sāyaṇa included the word *adma* in 3, 4 amongst *gr̥ha-nāmāni*.

For the rest, it is my belief that *adman* is mentioned in some of the Sanskrit lexicons as having the meaning *gr̥ha*, though I have not, so far, come across any such passage in the lexicons that I have examined.

⁶ This abode seems to be identical with the *hotṛ-sádana* or *hotṛ-dhiṣya* (*hotṛ-khara*) of the later ritual books or with the *sadas*

closely associated with his abode that his going to it, singing, and his sitting in it, became, as is evidenced by the above-cited passages, common figures of comparison. It is no wonder therefore that, in the circumstances, the word *admasad* became an appellative of the *hotṛ* 'who sits in the abode.'

In any case, there is no doubt that *admasád* signifies 'hotṛ' and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages where this word and the allied words *admasadya* and *admasadvan* occur.

1, 124, 4: *úpo adarśi śundhyúvo ná vākṣo
nodhā ivāvīr akṛta priyāni |
admasán ná sasató bodhāyantī
śaśvattamāgāt pūnar eyūṣīṇām ||*

This has already been translated above; see p. 32. Regarding the *hotṛ*'s awakening of those that are asleep, compare 8, 9, 17 and 10, 42, 2 cited above, in which the *hotṛ* is exhorted to awaken the deities. Compare also 10, 29, 1: *śūcir vām stómo bhuraṇāv ajīgah*; 7, 67, 1: *yó* (sc. *stomah*) *vām dūtō ná dhiṣṇyāv ajīgah*; 7, 73, 3: *śruṣṭivéva pŕesito vām abodhi pŕáti stómair járamāṇo vāsiṣṭhah* in which the hymns of praise sung by the priests are said to have awakened the Aśvins. And regarding the Dawn's awakening of sleepers, compare 1, 113, 9: *úṣo . . . yán mānuṣān yakṣyámāṇān ajīgah*; 6, 65, 1. *kṣitīr ucchānti mānuṣīr ajīgah* and the passages referred to by Grassmann s.v. *budh* (*bodhayantī*).

6, 30, 3: *adyā cin nū cit tād ápo nadīnām
yád ābhyo árādo gātum indra |
ní párvatā admasádo ná sedus
tváyā dṛlhāni sukrato rájānsi ||*

"Even now and in the time to come, O Indra, (endures) the work (that thou didst in respect) of the of which the *hotṛ-dhiṣṇya* formed part. See *Śrautapadārtha-nirvacana* (2nd ed.), p. 27 (no. 219), p. 247 (no. 181), and p. 243 (no. 175); Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣtoma*, I, §§ 89—99, and Pl. IV

rivers when thou didst cut out a path for them. The mountains sat down, like *hotṛs* (at thy behest). The worlds, O wise one, have been made firm by thee". *nū cit*=in the time to come; see Geldner, *Glossar* (s.v.). Yāska (*Nirukta*, 4, 17), and following him, Sāyaṇa, however interpret it as *purā*. The words 'at thy behest' have to be understood here; compare Sāyaṇa: *tvad-ājñayā parvatā girayo niśeduh*. The *tertium comparationis* in pāda c is, according to Sāyaṇa, and Geldner (*Ved.*, *St*, 2, 179), *naiścalyena upavesanam*. But the simile *sīdan hōteva* occurs in 9, 92, 2: *ācchā nṛcākṣā asarat pāvītre nāma dādhānah kavīr asya yōnau* | *sīdan hōteva sādane camūṣūpem agmann ḫṣayah saptā vīprāh* which says that the Soma juice settled in the bowls like the *hotṛ* in his abode. Now, the Soma juice setting in bowls, vats or jars is, in 9, 38, 4; 9, 57, 3 and other passages cited on p. 215 above, compared with the falcon sitting (*i.e.*, going to sit) in his nest; and the *tertium comparationis* in these verses is, as I have already pointed out, not 'sitting' but 'swift movement.' This is the case in 9, 92, 2 and also in 9, 92, 6: *pāri sādm̄va paśumānti hōtā rājā nā satyāḥ sāmitir iyānāḥ* | *sōmaḥ pūnānāḥ kalāsān̄ ayāsit sīdan mṛgō nā māhiśō vāneṣu* and 9, 97, 1: *sutāḥ pāvītram pāry eti rébhan mitēva sādma paśumānti hōtā*. Compare also 1, 180, 9: *prā syandrā yātho mānuṣo nā hōtā* "O ye swift ones (*sc.* Aśvins), you go (as swiftly) as the human *hotṛ*, *i.e.*, as the *hotṛ* priest," and 1, 73, 1: *hōteva sādma vidhatō vī tārīt* "(Agni) went to the worshippers (as swiftly) as the *hotṛ* does to his abode" where too the *sāmānya-dharma* is swift-going.

The simile *admasádo nā seduh* in pāda c of the above verse is but a paraphrase of the simile *sīdan hōteva*; and hence the *tertium comparationis* in this pāda too is swift movement. The meaning of the pāda is, "At thy behest, the mountains sat down (*i.e.*, began to sit down) as quickly as *hotṛs*." Compare 2, 11, 8: *nī pārvataḥ sādy*

áprayucchan “The mountain, taking heed, sat (at thy behest); that is, the mountain, heeded thy behest and sat”; and 2, 11, 7: áramsta párvatas cit sariṣyán, “Even the mountain that was moving stopped (and settled on the earth at thy behest).” The reference here is to the well-known story of Indra cutting off the wings of the flying mountains and making them settle permanently on the earth; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 174.

7, 83, 7: dásā rājānah sámitā áyajyavah
sudāsam indrāvaraṇā ná yuyudhuḥ |
satyā nṛṇām admasádām úpastutir
devā eṣām abhavan deváhūtiṣu ||

“The ten impious kings, O Indra and Varuṇa, did not fight (*i.e.*, did not gain a victory over) Sudās in battle. The praising of the hotṛ priests bore fruit; the gods stood by them when they were invoked.” The battle of Sudās with the ten kings is described more fully in the hymn VII, 18; see Sāyaṇa’s commentary thereon and Geldner’s *Kommentar*.

8, 44, 29: dhíro hy ásy admasád
vípro ná jāgrvih sádā |
agne dídáyasi dyávi ||

“Thou, O Agni, art a wise hotṛ, watchful always like a priest. Thou shinest in the heavens.” The expression *dhírah admasád* is equivalent to *hótā kavíkratuh* (1, 1, 5), *hótā vidúṣṭarah* (1, 105, 13-14), *vípro hótā* (1, 14, 9) and other similar expressions. The epithet *jāgrvī* is frequently applied to Agni; see Grassmann, s.v., and the *víprah* or priests are described as *jāgrvāṁsaḥ* in 1, 22, 21 and 3, 10, 9.

It is possible to construe the words *vípro ná* with the preceding word *admasád*; and this is what Geldner has in fact done in *Ved. St.*, 2, 180. The meaning of the first two pādas would then be, “Thou, O Agni, art wise, a chanter sitting in the abode like a priest, and always watchful.” The word *admasád* has both the *yaugika* and

rūdhī meanings here and denotes the ‘*hotṛ* who sits in the abode.’ Regarding the simile, compare 10, 78, 1 : *vīprāso ná mānmabhiḥ svādhyāḥ* “like priests with hymns, singing songs”; compare also 7, 30, 3 : *ny ḫgnīḥ sīdad ásuro ná hótā huvānó átra subhágāya devān*⁷ “The mighty Agni sat (in the abode) like the *hotṛ*, calling the gods here for good fortune.”

6, 4, 4 : *vadmā hí sūno ásy admasádvā
cakré agnīr januṣājmānnam |
sá tvám na ūrjasana ūrjam dhā
rājēva jer avṛké kṣeṣy antáh ||*

“Thou, O son (of strength), art (our) speaker, (our) *hotṛ*. Agni, from his birth (*i.e.*, as soon as he was born), made his way to food. Bestow on us vigour, O thou vigour-bestower; thou conquerest like a king and dwellest in a secure place.” *sūno* in pāda a stands without doubt for *sūno sahasāḥ*; compare 6, 13, 6 : *vadmā sūno sahaso no vīhāyāḥ* and Oldenberg, ZDMG, 55, 291. Pāda b is somewhat obscure; Roth (ZDMG, 48, 679), regards *januṣā* in *januṣājmānnam* as standing for *januṣām*, while Grassmann is inclined to substitute *ájman* for *ájma*. Ludwig, without proposing any alteration translates pāda b as “Von jeher hat Agni sich seine ban und seine speise gemacht.” This does not seem to be very satisfactory; and I therefore construe *ánnam* as depending on *ájma* (*ánnam prati ajma*) and translate it as above. Compare 4, 7, 10 : *sadyó jātāsyā dādrśānam ójo yád asya vāto anuvātī śocīḥ | vrṇākti tigmām atasēṣu jihvām sthirā cīd*

⁷ The description of the *hotṛ* as the ‘sitter in the abode,’ the allusion in the verses cited above (on p. 220) to him and his *sadman*, to his going to the *sadman* singing, and to his awakening of sleeping men and deities with his chants, as also the juxtaposition of the words *hotṛ* and *huvāna* in this verse, all indicate that his function, in the time of the RV as in that of the Śrauta-sūtras, was to chant hymns of prayer. Hence Yāska (comp. *Nirukta*, 7. 15 : *hotāram hrātāram*) seems to be right in deriving the word from *hu* ‘to call,’ and Aurṇavābha wrong in deriving it from *hu* ‘to offer oblations.’

ánnā dayate ví jāmbhaiḥ “His might is seen as soon as he is born. When the wind blows behind his flame, he winds his sharp tongue round the brushwood. He cuts with his jaws even the firm food.”

8, 43, 19 : *agním dhībhīr manīśīno*
mēdhīrāśo vīpāścītah |
admasādyāya hinvīre ||

“The wise, intelligent and inspired priests urged Agni with hymns (*i.e.*, prayers) to become hotṛ.” Compare 3, 29, 8 : *sīda hotāḥ svá u loké cikitvān*; 1, 76, 2 : *éhy agna iḥā hótā ní sīda*; and 2, 36, 4 : *úśan hotar ní ṣadā yóniṣu triṣū* in which Agni is exhorted to assume the office of hotṛ; compare also 6, 4, 1 ; 6, 11, 1 ; 6, 11, 4 ; 6, 15, 16 ; 3, 4, 3 ; 3, 62, 12 ; 7, 39, 1, etc., in which verses too Agni is prayed to to become hotṛ.

§ 12
 nirekā

This word occurs in eight passages of the RV and in no independent passage elsewhere. It is not mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and since, moreover, it does not occur in any of the passages cited in the *Nirukta*, Yāska and Durga have had no occasion of explaining it. Sāyaṇa derives the word from *ni+ric* ‘to empty’ or *nir+i* ‘to go’ (comm. on 8, 96, 3 : *ni-pūrvād ricyater vā nīh-pūrvād eter veti saṁdehād anavagrahah*) and explains it differently as *nairdhanya*, *durgati* or *dāridrya* (1, 51, 14 ; 7, 18, 23 ; 7, 90, 3), *dāna* (7, 20, 8), *dhana* (8, 24, 4) and *nirgamana* (8, 24, 3 ; 8, 33, 2 ; 8, 96, 3) in his commentary on the RV and as *reko riktatvam | tadrāhitāṁ karma nirekāṁ tādr̥ṣe sarvasādhanasāṁpūr̥ye karmāṇi* in his commentary on TB. 2, 8, 1, 1 (=RV. 7, 90, 3). Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, on the other hand, in their commentaries on the same verse (VS. 27, 24=RV. 7, 90, 3) interpret the

word as *janair ākīrṇa-pradeśe* and *nirgataḥ rekāḥ recanām rekāḥ śūnyatā yasmāt tādṛṣe bahu-janākīrṇa-sthāne* respectively.

Roth, too, in the PW, derives the word from *ni+ric* and explains *nirekam* (acc.) as 'etwa bleibender Besitz; Eigenthum' and *nireke* (loc.) as '(eigenthümlich) bleibend; auf die Dauer; für immer.' This interpretation was considered unsatisfactory by Geldner (*Ved St.*, 1, 155) who therefore proposed (ibid., p. 157) the meanings '1. Subst. bevorzugter-, Ehren-platz, Vorrang, Vortritt 7, 20, 8; 1, 51, 14; 8, 33, 2; 7, 18, 23; 8, 24, 3; 8, 96, 3; (2) Adj. eine bevorzugte Stellung einnehmend, bevorzugt 8, 24, 4; 7, 90, 3 dunkel.' In his *Glossar* however he has, following Roth, interpreted *nireka* as "alleiniger Besitz 8, 24, 4; Ausschliesslichkeit; loc. in alleinigem Besitz 1, 51, 14; 7, 18, 23; 7, 90, 3; 8, 96, 3; ausschliesslich, ganz allein 7, 20, 8; 8, 24, 3; 8, 33, 2". Similarly Oldenberg too writes (*RV. Noten.* I, 49): "Wie *prarekú* Hinausreichen, Ueberschiessen ist *nireká* m. E. wörtlich etwa Hineinreichen d. h. das Stehen in engsten Zusammenhang mit Jemand, Zugehören zum intimsten Besitz Jemandes; vgl. *nitya*".

The above interpretations are all based on the supposed derivation of the word from the root *ric* with *ni*, and are mere guesses. None of them fits into the context in, for instance, 1, 51, 14: *īndro aśrāyi sudhyò nireké* and 7, 90, 3: *ādha vāyūm niyútaḥ saścata svā utā śvetām vásudhitim nireké*; and a comparison of the passages in which this word occurs with other connected passages shows that the real meaning of the word is something quite different from those mentioned above.

In 8, 24, 4: *ā nirekám utá priyám īndra darṣi jánānām*, we find *nireká* used as the object of *ādarṣi* while in the preceding verse (8, 24, 3): *sá na stávāna ā bhara rayim citrā-śravastamam | nireké cid yó harivo vásur dadih*, it is said of Indra that he gives wealth in *nireka*.

A comparison therefore of the words that are used in RV passages as objects of the root *dry* or *dar* 'to burst open' with the words used in the locative case in connection with the word *dadi* in the passages in which that word occurs¹ will show what is common to both groups of words and will thus guide one to the meaning of *nireka*.

Now, the words used as objects of the verb *dry* or *dar* are, besides *nireká*, the following, namely, *átká*, *ádri*, *áp*, *ápihita*, *amítra*, *áśvya*, *íś*, *útsa*, (*diváḥ*) *kávandha*, *kóśa*, *gó*, *gotrá*, *gódhāyas*, *dásyu*, *dánu*, *dṛlhá*, *púr*, *bhúvana*, *rādhāḥ*, *valá*, *vája*, *vrajá*, *śatá*, *śátru*, *sámbara*, *sahásra*, *sugráthita* and *sūkará*.

The word *dadi* is used in twelve verses in nine of which it is not connected with any word in the locative case. In the remaining verses, it is connected with the locative *nireka* in 8, 24, 3 as we have seen above; and in 1, 81, 7: *máde-made* *hí* *no* *dadír* *yūthā* *gávām* *ṛjukrátuh* | *sám* *gṛbhāya* *purú* *śatóbhayahastyā* *vásu* *śiśihí* *rāyá* *ā* *bhara* and 8, 46, 15: *dadi* *rékṇas* *tanvē* *dadír* *vásu* *dadír* *vájeṣu* *puruhūta* *vájīnam* | *nūnám* *ātha*, it is connected with the locatives *máde-made* and *vájeṣu* respectively.

It will be seen that, beside *nireká* whose meaning we are now endeavouring to determine, the word *vája* is the only one that is common to both groups; and this indicates that *nireká* is probably equivalent to *vája*.

¹ As a matter of fact, it is necessary that one should, if one desires one's survey to be comprehensive, include in the comparison (1) not only the words used as objects of the verb *dry* or *dar* 'to burst open,' but also those used as objects of *trh*, *bhid* and similar verbs, and (2) not only the words used in the locative case in connection with the word *dadi*, but also those used in that case in connection with the verbs *dā*, *rā*, etc., meaning 'to give.' It will however become manifest from the sequel that such a comprehensive comparison is unnecessary and that the limited comparison indicated above is enough to lead one to the correct meaning.

The comparison of 7, 20, 8 : *yás ta indra priyó jáno dádāśad ásan nireké adrivaḥ sákhā te* with its parallel passages and of 7, 90, 3 : *ádha vāyúm niyútaḥ saścata svā utá śvetám vásudhitim nireké* with its parallel passages points likewise to such equivalence and hence makes it certain that *nireká*=*vája*. In 7, 20, 8, Indra is exhorted to regard, in *nireká*, the offerer (of oblations) as his friend, that is, to befriend the offerer (of oblations) in *nireká*. The only other verses in the RV in which a similar prayer or exhortation is addressed to Indra, and words in the locative case are used in connection with *sakhi*, are 8, 13, 3 : *tám ahve vājasātaya índram bhárāya śuśmíṇam | bhávā naḥ sumnē ántamah sákhā vṛdhé*; 6, 33, 4 : *sá tvám na índrākavābhir ūti sákhā viśváyur avitā vṛdhé bhūḥ | svārṣātā yád dhváyāmāsi tvā yúdhyanto nemádhitā pṛtsú śūra*; and 1, 129, 4 : *asmākam va índram usmāsiṣṭáye sákhāyam viśváyūn prāsáham yujám vājeṣu prāsáham yujám | asmākam bráhmoत्ये 'vā pṛtūṣu kāsu cit | naḥi tvā sátruh stárate strñóṣi yám viśvam sátrum strñóṣi yám*. In the first of these verses, Indra is exhorted to befriend the suppliant in *sumná*, in the second, in *svārṣātā* and *pṛt* (note that these are synonyms of *vája*), and in the third, in *vája*. Compare also in this connection 4, 24, 6 : *kṛṇóty asmai várivo yá itthéndrāya sómam usaté sunóti | sadhričinena mánasāvivenan tám it sákhāyam kṛṇute samátsu*; 8, 21, 8 : *vidmā sakhitvám utá śūra bhojyam ā te tā vajrinn īmahe | utó samasminn ā sīśihi no vaso vāje suśipra gómati*; 3, 51, 9 : *aptúrye maruta āpír esó 'mandann índram ánu dātrvārāḥ | tébhiḥ sākām pibatu vṛtrakhādāḥ sutám sómam dāśuṣah své sadhásthé*; and 6, 21, 8 : *sá tú śrudhīndra nūtanasya brahmaṇyato vīra kārudhāyah | tvám hy āpīḥ pṛadīvi pītīṇām sāśvad babhūthā suháva éṣṭau and the locatives vāje, samátsu, aptúrye and éṣṭau, (these three are synonyms of vāja), used therein.*

In 7, 90, 3 : *ádha vāyúm . . . nireké*, it is said that the team (of horses) accompany Vāyu in *nireka*. Compare

with this verse 7, 91, 6: *yā vām śatām niyúto yāh sahásram īndravāyū viśvāvārāh sácente | ābhir yātām suvidātrābhir arvāk pātām narā prátibhṛtasya mādhvah* in which the word *niyútaḥ* and the verb *sac* occur, and in which Indra and Vāyu are exhorted to come to the sacrifice (this, be it noted, is one of the meanings of *vāja*), accompanied by the team (of horses). Compare also 7, 91, 5. *ā no niyúdbhiḥ śatībhir adhvarām sahasrīnībhir úpa yāhi yajñām | vāyo asmīn sāvane mādayasva*; 7, 92, 3: *prā yābhir yāśi dāśvāṁsam áccā niyúdbhir vāyav iṣṭāye duronē*; and 1, 135, 7: *áti vāyo sasatō yāhi sāsvato yātra grāvā vādati tātra gacchatām grhām īndraś ca gacchatām | vī sūnītā dādṛśe rīyate ghṛtām ā pūrṇāyā niyútā yātho adhvarām īndraś ca yātho adhvarām* in which Vāyu is prayed to come with his team to the *yajñā* or *adhvarā* (which also is a synonym of *vāja*).

All this makes it certain and places it beyond doubt that *nirekā* is equivalent to *vāja*. And hence it becomes evident that this word is derived, not from *ni+ric*, but from *ni+ri* or *rī* 'to run' (*ri gatau*; *rī gati-reṣaṇayoh*) by the addition of the suffix *ka²*; compare *śloka* (from

² This verb, *ri* or *rī* with *ni*, is used in the sense of running in 5, 86, 4: *nī yē rīṇānty ójasā výthā gāvo nā durdhūrah* "Who (sc. Maruts) run impetuously with force like bulls difficult to restrain". Grassmann in his Wörterbuch explains *durdhūrah* as 'schlechtes Joch habend,' and this explanation is adopted by Ludwig who translates, (no. 690) *durdhuro gāvah* as 'wie schwierig an die stange zu gewönende rinder.' There seems to me no doubt however that *durdhur* is, like *durdhara* and *durdhartu*, derived from the root *dhr* or *dhar* 'to hold' and means, like those words, 'difficult to hold back or check.' Compare 5, 87, 9: *yūyām tāsyā pracetasaḥ syāta durdhārtavō nidāh* in which the epithet *durdhārtavah* is applied to the Maruts and 5, 56, 3: *dudhrō gaūr ivā bhīmayūh* where the rush of the Maruts is compared to that of an impetuous bull. Compare also Grassmann's translation, 'Die niederstürmen mit Gewalt wie ungezähmte Stiere wild.'

According to Hemacandra's *Anekārthamālā* and the *Medinī* (see the PW s. v.), *durdhara* is a synonym of *rśabha*. The

śru) and (*su*) *mēka* (from *mi*). *nirekā* thus denotes, like its equivalent *vāja* which is derived from *vaj* 'to go' (*vaja gatau*), strength, quickness, race, booty, prize, battle, sacrifice, etc. (see PW and Grassmann s. v. *vāja*); and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the verses in which the word occurs.

8, 24, 4: ā *nirekām utā priyām*
īndra darṣi jānānām |
dhrṣatā dhrṣṇo stāvamāna ā bhara ||

"Thou, O Indra, also cuttest open (the receptacle of, and makest accessible) for people, the dear wealth. O thou valiant one, bring (us wealth) boldly, being praised." Regarding the expression *nirekām ādarṣi*, compare 2, 12, 15: *yāḥ sunvatē pācate dudhrā ā cid vājam dārdarṣi sā kīlāsi satyāḥ*; 4, 16, 8: *sā no netā vājam ā darṣi bhūrim gotrā rujānn āngirobhir gṛṇānāḥ*; and specially, 8, 33, 3: *kāṇvebhir dhrṣṇav ā dhrṣād vājam darṣi sahasrīnam*; and 8, 45, 40-41: *bhindhī vīśvā āpa dvīṣāḥ pāri bādho jahī mṛdhāḥ* | *vāsu spārhām tād ā bhara* || *yād vīśāv īndra yāt sthīrē yāt pārśāne pārābhr̥tam* | *vāsu spārhām tād ā bhara* all addressed to Indra, and also 9, 68, 7: *āvyo vārebhir utā devāhūtibhir nṛbhir yato vājam ā darṣi sātāye* addressed to Soma, and 10, 69, 3: *sā revāc choca sā gīro juṣasva sā vājam darṣi sā ihā srāvo dhāḥ* addressed to Agni. And regarding the phrase *priyām nirekām*, compare the expressions *priyām vāsu*, *spārhām vāsu*, *kāmyām vāsu*, *vāmām vāsu*, etc. (for references, see Grassmann under these vocables).

expression *durdhuro gāvāḥ* is accordingly equivalent to *rṣabhbāḥ*. Compare 5, 56, 3 cited above and also 10, 103, 1: *āśāḥ sīśāno vṛṣabhbō nā bhīmāḥ* in which the bull is mentioned as *upamāna* in respect of impetuous rush.

The verb *ri* or *rī*, without the prefix *ni*, is used with the sense of running in 5, 58, 6: *kṣōdanta āpo sīnatē vānāni*; 1, 85, 3: *vārtmāny eṣām ānu rīyate gṛltām* and other verses; see Grassmann s. v.

1, 51, 14: *índro ásrāyi sudhyò nireké*
pajréṣu stómo dúryo ná yúpah |
ásvayúr gávyú rathayúr vasúyúr
índra íd rāyāḥ kṣayati prayantā ||

“Indra has been raised high (i.e., highly praised or glorified) in the sacrifice of the pious (sacrificer), and the hymn that longs for horses, cows, chariots, and wealth, has been raised high among the Pajras, like the door post. Indra alone rules over wealth and is (its) bestower.” In pāda a, *ásrāyi* has been translated by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, I, 58) as ‘gegeben’, which seems to me to be incorrect. Compare 6, 11, 5: *ásrāyi yajñāḥ súrye ná cákṣuh* ‘the sacrifice has been raised high as the eye to the sun’; 5, 1, 12: *gáviṣṭhíro námasā stómam agnaiú . . aśret* ‘Gaviṣṭhira, has, with adoration, raised high the hymn for Agni’; 5, 28, 1: *sámidhō agnír diví śoéir aśret* ‘Agni, kindled, has raised high his light in the sky’; 4, 6, 2: *ūrdhvám bhānúm sávitā devó aśret* ‘God Savitṛ has raised high his ray’; and 1, 10, 1: *gāyanti tvā gāyatríṇó 'rcanty arkám arkiṇāḥ | brahmāṇas tvā sātakrata úd vamśám iva yemire* ‘The singers besing thee, the chanters chant chants; the priests, O thou that art hundred-fold wise, have raised thee high like a pole.’ The last-cited verse, it may be observed, indicates that the comparison *dúryo ná yúpah* in pāda b is to be understood of *indrāḥ* also in pāda a.

Pāda b is somewhat cryptic. It is translated by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) as ‘wie ein Türpfosten ist das Preislied bei den Pajra’s’; and this is explained by him as “Das Loblied hält so fest wie der Türpfosten. Dasselbe Bild in 8, 23, 24: *stómebhīḥ sthūrayūpavát*”. But there seems to be no doubt that in this verse, the word *sthūrayūpa* is, like the word *vyaśva* in the preceding verse, *jyéṣṭhābhīr vyaśvavat*, a proper name (see Grassmann s. v., PW s.v., and Sāyana) and that it has nothing to do with a ‘stout post.’ The meaning of 8, 23, 24 is, “Jetzt singe dem gewaltigen mit Lied nach

Sthūrayūpa's Art" as given by Grassmann (*RV. Ueber.*). I believe therefore that the verb *aśrāyi* in pāda a is the predicate of *stóma* and *yūpa* also in pāda b (this is the opinion of Oldenberg also; see *RV. Noten*, I) and that the tertium comparationis is 'raising high' or (*uc*) *chrayahā*. Compare 3, 8, 2-3: *úc chrayasva mahaté saúbhagāya* || *úc chrayasva vānaspatē vārṣman pṛthivyā* *ádhī* addressed to the sacrificial post (*yūpa*); compare likewise the expressions *ūrdhvás tiṣṭhāḥ*, *tasthivāṁsah*, *ún nayanti*, *unnīyámānāḥ*, *śrāyamānāḥ*, etc., used of this post in that hymn and also the other verses referred to on p. 102 of Oldenberg's *Vedaforschung* and *sthūṇārājām ucchrāyati* in *Śāṅkh. GS.* 3, 2, 8 (Sāyaṇa, it may be observed explains *duryo yūpāḥ* in 1, 51, 14 as *dvāri nikhātā sthūnā*). Regarding the expression *stómo aśrāyi*, compare 3, 14, 2: *áyāmi te náma-uktīm juṣasva*; 1, 153, 2: *prāstutir vāṁ dhāma ná pṛayuktir áyāmi mitravaruṇā suvṛktih*; 10, 50, 6: *yajñō māntro brāhmódyatām vācaḥ*; 1, 80, 9; *īndrāya brāhmódyatam*; and 1, 190, 3: *úpastutīm námasa údyatīm ca ślókām yaṁsat savitēva pṛābāhū* which all refer to hymns 'being raised high'; compare also 7, 83, 3: *īndrāvaruṇā dīvī ghōṣa āruhat*.

The words *aśvayūḥ*, etc., are, according to Sāyaṇa, Grassmann and Ludwig, attributes of Indra. This opinion seems to me to be untenable; for it is difficult to conceive of Indra that he is 'longing for horses, cows, chariots and wealth.' I therefore agree with Geldner (*op. cit.*) in thinking that they are the attributes of *stómaḥ* in pāda b. Compare 7, 67, 5: *pṛācīm u devāśvinā dhiyam mé 'mr̄dhrām sātāye kṛtam̄ vasūyūm* and 1, 62, 11: *vasūyāvo matāyo dasma dadruḥ* in which the epithet *vasūyu* is applied to *mati* or hymn; compare also 8, 78, 9: *tvāṁ id yavayūr máma kāmo gavyūr hiranyayūḥ* | *tvāṁ aśvayūr éṣate*.

8, 96, 3: *īndrasya vājra āyasó nimiśla*
īndrasya bāhvór bhūyiṣṭham ójah |

*sīrṣānn īndrasya krātavo nircká
āsānn ēṣanta śrūtyā upākē ||*

“In Indra is attached the iron Vajra (thunderbolt); in Indra’s two arms is the greatest strength; in Indra’s head are insights. In the sacrifice, there run remarkable (praises or offerings) into (his) near mouth.” With regard to pādas a, b, c, compare 1, 55, 8 : *āprakṣitam* *vāsu bibharṣi hāstaylor* *āṣāḥham* *sāhas tanvī* *śrutō dadhe* | *āvṛtāso* ‘*vatāso* nā *kartṛbhīs* *tanūṣu* te *krātava* *indra* *bhūrayaḥ* “In thy hands, thou carriest inexhaustible wealth. The famed one bore invincible strength in his body. In thy body, O Indra, are many insights, concealed, like wells hidden by the makers”, and 2, 16, 2 : *yāsmād* *īndrād* *bṛhatāḥ* *kim* *caném* *ṛté* *viśvāny* *asmin* *sāmbhṛtādhi* *vīryā* | *jathāre* *sōmaṁ* *tanvī* *sāho* *māho* *hāste* *vājraṁ* *bhārati* *sīrṣāṇi* *krātum* “Without whom, the great Indra, nothing (happens), in him all mighty are gathered. In his belly, he bears Soma, in his body, great strength, in his hand, the thunderbolt, in his head, insight.”

The sense of pāda d is obscure. The Padapātha reads *śrūtyai* here (as it does in 2, 2, 7 : *dūrō nā vājām* *śrūtyā* *āpā* *vṛdhi* and 10, 111, 3 : *īndraḥ* *kīla* *śrūtyā* *asyā* *veda*) for which Grassmann (s. v. *śrūtya*) proposes *śrūtyāḥ*, a suggestion which I have adopted in my above translation. Sāyaṇa explains the pāda as : *āsan* *āsyē* *ca* *yāni* *kārmāṇi* *yuddhārthāṁ* *vājīno* *gajān* *sannāhayatetyādīni* *bhāvanti* | *kim* *ca* *śrūtyai* *sāṅgrāmāya* *nirgacchato* ‘*nuśāsata* *īndrasya* *vākyā*-*śravaṇārthāṁ* *sarvā* *upajīvino* *bṛtyā* *upāke* ‘*ntika* *ēṣanta* *ayam* *īndro* ‘*smāṇi* *kutra* *kutra* *kārye* *niyokṣyatīty* *etena* *manasā* *tadantike* *samantād* *āgacchanti*; and Oldenberg observes (*RV. Noten*, II) : “*śrūtyā* : man erwartet zunächst Nom.; in der Tat *śrūtyāḥ* nicht unwahrscheinlich (vgl. Gr. WB; zu II, 2, 7; X, 111, 3): “zu seinem Mund (Lok. des Ziels) streben *śr*° (Hören); d. h. an seinem Mund hängt Hören und Gehorchen des Andern. Doch kann auch *śrūtyai* (Pp) richtig sein; die *krātu* in seinem Haupt (c) strebt auf seinem Munde fort

um Gehör zu finden (so Ludw.), oder: 'nach seinem Munde drängen sich (alle) um . . zu Hören' (Geldner *Rel. Lesebuch*, 79)." These explanations seem to me to be unsatisfactory, and the more so, as there is nothing parallel to the ideas contained in them in any other verse of the RV. The word *śrutyāḥ* is used as an epithet of *brahman*, hymn, in 1, 165, 11: *ámandan mā marulāḥ stómo átra yán me narah śrútyam bráhma cakra*; and the verb is found used with *mati*, hymn, in 5, 67, 5: *tát sú vām éṣate matiḥ*. Compare with this 6, 47, 14: *áva tvé indra praváto nómír gíro bráhmāṇi niyúto dhavante* 'in thee, O Indra, run hymns and praises in teams (i.e., many hymns of praise) as (swiftly as) the current down an incline,' and also 6, 36, 3: *samudrám ná síndhava ukthásuṣmā uruvyácasam gíra á viṣanti*; 1, 176, 2: *tásminn á veṣayā gíro yá ékaś carṣapinām* which refer to hymns running into or 'entering into' Indra. This, presumably, is through the mouth; and hence it is probable that *śrutyāḥ* refers to *girah* and that the meaning of the pāda is, as given above, 'the remarkable praises run into (his) near mouth.' Regarding the expression *upāká āsán*, compare the analogous expression *upākáyor hástayoh* in 1, 81, 4: *śriyá rṣvá upākáyor ní śípri hárivān dadhe hástayor várjram áyasám*.

At the same time, it must be observed that Grassmann's suggestion (l. c.), too, that *śrutyāḥ* refers to *sómāḥ*, is not improbable. Compare 3, 46, 4: *índram sómāsaḥ pradívi sutásah samudrám ná sraváta á viṣanti* 'into Indra enter at all times the Soma juices that have been expressed as rivers into the ocean'; 9, 85, 7: *éndram viṣanti madiráśa índrakah*; 9, 97, 36: *índram á viṣa bṛhatá rúveṇa*; 9, 2, 1: *índram indo vṛṣá viṣa*; 9, 108, 16: *índrasya hárdi somadhánam á viṣa samudrám iva síndhavah*; and 9, 66, 15: *éndrasya jaṭháre viṣa* in which the Soma juice is said to enter into Indra, presumably through the mouth. Compare also 7, 15, 1: *upasádyāya mīlhúṣa āsyē juhutā havih*; 7, 102, 3: *tásma id āsyē havir juhótā*

mádhumattamam; 10, 91, 3: *áhāv y agne havír āsyè te*; and 4, 49, 1: *idám vām āsyè havíh priyám indrā-brhaspati* in which the word *havíh* is used in connection with *āsyè*, 'in the mouth.' Hence it is not improbable that *śrútyāh* denotes 'remarkable offerings (of Soma or oblations).'

The sense of the pāda remains unchanged even if one agrees with the Padapātha that the word used in it is *śrútyai* and not *śrútyāh*. The meaning of *śrútyai* is 'so that it is heard of; i.e., as is well-known'; and we have still to supply as the subject of *éṣanta* the word *gírah* or *sómāh* or *havimṣi*. The meaning of the pāda would thus be, the 'hymns (or offerings) run, as is well-known, into (his) near mouth in the sacrifice.'

7, 18, 23: *catvāro mā pāijāvanāsyā dānāh
smáddiṣṭayah kṛṣanino nireké |
ṛjṛāśo mā pṛthiviṣṭhāh sudāśas
tokām tokāya śrāvase vahanti ||*

This will be explained in the next article on *smáddiṣṭi*. Regarding *nireké*, compare 8, 4, 19: *sthūrām rādhaḥ
śatāśvam kuraṅgāsyā dīviṣṭiṣu* 'great is the gift, comprising hundred horses, of Kuraṅga in the sacrifices.'

7, 20, 8: *yás ta indra priyó jáno dādāśad
áśan nireké adrivaḥ sákhā te |
vayām te asyām sumataū cāniṣṭhāḥ
syāma várūthe ághnato nýpītau ||*

"The dear one, O Indra, who makes offerings to thee, may he, O thou with the thunderbolt, be thy friend in battle (i.e., when he is fighting, be thou his friend and aid him). May we be most acceptable in this thy favour, in the shelter, in the protection, of thee that art gracious." With regard to pāda b, compare 6, 33, 4; 4, 24, 6; 1, 129, 4; 3, 51, 9; and 6, 21, 8 cited above (p. 226).

7, 90, 3: *rāyé nū yám jajñātū ródasimé
rāyé devi dhiśānā dhāti devám |
ádhā vāyūm niyútaḥ saścata svā
utá śvetām vásudhitim nireké ||*

“Whom these bright Heaven and Earth bore for prosperity, him, the god, the goddess Dhiṣaṇā raises high (i.e., glorifies) for prosperity. And then the own teams of Vāyu accompanied the white one, who bestows wealth, to the sacrifice.” Compare 7, 91, 6; 7, 91, 5; 7, 92, 3; and 1, 135, 7 cited above (p. 227).

8, 24, 3 : *sá na stávāna ā bhara
rayīm citrāśravastamam |
nirekē cid yó harivo vásur dadíh ||*

“Bring to us, being praised, wealth that is most wonderful and renowned, O thou with bay horses, that bestowest wealth even in sacrifice.” Compare 1, 81, 7 and 8, 46, 15 cited above (p. 225).

vásuh here, I conceive, stands for *vásu*; see p. 107 above.

8, 33, 2 : *sváranti tvā suté náro
váso nireká ukthínah |
kadā sutám tṛṣṇyá óka ā gama
índra scabdīva vám̄sagah ||*

“O thou bright one, when (the Soma juice) is expressed, the men that are reciting praises, call to thee in the sacrifice. When wilt thou, O Indra, thirsting for the Soma juice, come to the house (i.e., the sacrificial place), as (swiftly as) a roaring bull (to a pool of water)?” Regarding the simile in pāda d, compare 1, 130, 2 : *pibā sómam indra suvānám ádribhiḥ kóṣṇa siktám avarám ná vám̄sagas tātṛṣṇyó ná vám̄sagah*; 5, 36, 1: *sá ā gamad índro yó vásūnám ciketad dātum dāmano rayīnám | dhanvacaró ná vám̄sagas tṛṣṇyás cakamānāḥ pibatu dugdham amśum* and also 8, 4, 3: *yáthā gauró apā kṛtám tṛṣṇyam éty ávérinam | āpitvē nah prapitvē tūyam ā gahi káñveṣu sú sáca pība.*

§ 13
smáddiṣṭi.

This is a word that occurs in four passages of the RV only; it is neither mentioned nor explained in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*. Sāyaṇa gives four different explanations of it,—*bhadravākyā*, *praśastadarśana*, *praśastātisarjanaśraddhādānānigayukta*, and *kalyāṇādeśin*. Roth explains it as ‘geschult, dressiert, eingeübt’ in the PW, and Grassmann as ‘mit Lenkung versehen, 1) gut lenkend; 2) gut zu lenken’. Ludwig, in his *RV. Ueber.*, has interpreted it differently as ‘die glück herbringen’; ‘deine weisung geht hieher (=du selbst unabhängig mit herrschaft über uns)’; ‘mir hier bestimmte’ and ‘hieher die weisung habende.’ Geldner, in his *Glossar*, gives the meanings “1) dessen Weisungen gleich sind, gerecht 3, 45, 52; 2) gleichmässig geschult,—eingelernt 6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10.” In his *RV. Ueber.*, however, he translates the word in 3, 45, 5 as ‘gleichmässig zuteilend’ and gives the following note: “*smáddiṣṭi* sonst ein technischer Ausdruck der Dānastuti’s (6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10). Hier wohl in etwas anderem Sinn. *diṣṭi* ist im RV unbelegt und *smád* auch sicher nicht bestimmt. Sāy.: *bhadravākyāḥ* in dem er *smát* im Sinn von *sumát* nimmt.” Oldenberg, on the other hand, observes¹ (*RV. Noten*, I, 251): “*smáddiṣṭi* mir dunkel. Es findet sich sonst (6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10) von geschenkten Sklaven, Rossen, Stieren (?) in Dānastutis. In Bezug auf eine Schenkung heisst es V, 36, 6: *yó róhitau rājīnau rājīnīvān tribhīḥ śataīḥ sácamānāv ádiṣṭa*: gibt dies *ádiṣṭa*, wenn es von *diṣ* kommt, den Schlüssel zu *smáddiṣṭi*? *diṣ* wäre offenbar “zuweisen”; *smáddiṣṭi* hiesse etwa “begleitet von (einem Akt der) Zuweisung.”

¹ He also urges against Geldner’s explanations (in *Glossar*) the criticisms (1) that they are not in accord with the meaning of *smat*, and (2) that the two proposed meanings are separated by too wide a gulf.

Ein solches Wort lässt sich von Geschenke brauchen, aber auch—und das müsste hier angenommen werden—vom Schenken, der, wo er auftritt, von Taten der Freigebigkeit begleitet ist."

It is plain from the above that Geldner and Oldenberg, Sāyaṇa and Ludwig, are at sea regarding the meaning of the word; and as for the meanings proposed by Roth and Grassmann, it can be readily seen that they do not fit well into the context in all the four passages and that they are therefore incorrect.

The word *smáddiṣṭi* is a bahuvrihi compound composed of *smat* (or *smād*) and *diṣṭi*. This latter word *diṣṭi*, though it does not (as observed by Geldner) occur elsewhere in the RV, is used frequently in later literature where it has the sense of 'fate, fortune, good fortune'; see Apte. The former word *smát* is found used in the RV only; it occurs, uncompounded, in thirteen passages, and compounded with *abhīṣu*, *ibha*, *iṣṭa*, *ūdhas*, *puramīdhi* and *rātiṣāc* in one passage each, and with *diṣṭi*, in four passages. In these four passages, Sāyaṇa, as we have already seen, explains *smat* as *prasasta*, *bhadra*, or *kalyāṇa*. Likewise, in ten of the remaining passages too, (1, 51, 15; 5, 41, 15; 5, 41, 19; 5, 87, 8; 7, 3, 8; 8, 18, 4; 8, 20, 18; 8, 25, 24; 8, 26, 19; 8, 28, 2) he declares it to be a synonym of, or explains it as, *su-*, *praśasta* or *śobhana*. In explaining 1, 186, 6, he writes: *smat sahārthe prāśastye vā vartate | atra praśamīsāyām*; and he regards it as the equivalent of *saha* in 8, 186, 8 and 8, 34, 6 and of *saha* or *praśasta* in 7, 87, 3. In 1, 100, 13, he explains it as *bhr̥ṣam*, in 2, 4, 9 as *ati-prabhūtam*, in 10, 61, 8, as *asmattah*, and in 1, 73, 6 as *nitva* (*smāc-chabdo nitya-śabda-samānārthah*); in 10, 42, 4 he regards *smadibha* as a proper name.

The meanings *atiprabhūta*, *bhr̥ṣa*, *nitya* and *asmattah* seem to have been invented by Sāyaṇa for the occasion and need not be considered seriously. The meanings

śobhana (*praśasta, su-*) and *saha*, on the other hand, belong to a different category; and in fact, it is the opinion of Roth (PW), Grassmann, Wackernagel (*Ai. Gr.* II. 1.p.287), Macdonell (*Vcd. Gr.* p. 424), Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* II, p. 7) and other European exegetists that *smát* is a synonym of *saha*, while, for my part, I am inclined to prefer the meaning *śobhana*. See below.

As far as the compound word *smáddiṣṭi* is concerned, its meaning remains the same whether one regards *smát* as the equivalent of *saha* or of *śobhana*. In the former case, the word means 'accompanied by good luck,' and in the latter case, 'having good luck.' In either case, therefore, the word *smáddiṣṭi* means 'with good luck; having good luck.'

The good luck that is referred to here is that caused, or brought, by auspicious marks; for it is the belief of the Indian Aryans that certain marks on the body, borne by men, women, horses, dogs, cocks, etc., bring good or bad luck to the possessor. Such belief, for instance, is alluded to in Āśvalāyana's words (GS. 1, 5, 3): *buddhi-rūpa-śīla-lakṣaṇa-saṁpannām arogām upayaccheta* which enjoin that the girl one marries must have *lakṣaṇām* or auspicious marks on her body. A similar injunction is contained in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1, 52 : *avipluta-brahmacaryo lakṣaṇyām striyam udvahet*; while Śāṅkh. GS. 1, 5 : *kumāryai pāṇīm gr̥hṇīyāt | yā lakṣaṇa-saṁpannā syāt | yasyā abhyātmam aṅgāni syuḥ samāḥ kesāntāḥ | āvartāv api yasyai syātām pradakṣīṇau grīvāyām |* *śad vīrān janayiṣyatīti* *vidyāt* specifies some of the auspicious marks and Manu (3, 8-10): *nālomikām nātiōmām . . . na piṅgalām haṁsa-vāraṇa-gāminīm tanuloma-kesa-daśanām mṛdvaṅgīm* describes some of the inauspicious as also auspicious marks of a girl.

AV. 1, 18 : *nīr lakṣmyām lalāmyām*
nīr árātīm suvāmasi |
átha yā bhadrā tāni nah

prajāyā árātīm (for *sām*?) nayāmāsi ॥
 nír áraṇīm savitā sāviṣat padór
 nír hástayor várūṇo mitrō aryamā |
 nír asmábhym ánumatī rárāṇā
 prémām devā asāviṣuh saúbhagāya ॥
 yát ta ātmáni tanvām ghorám ásti
 yád vā késeshu praticákṣane vā |
 sárvām tād vācā 'pa hanmo vayām
 devás tā savitā sūdayatu ॥
 ríṣyapadīm vṛṣadatīm
 goṣedhām vidhanām utá |
 vīlidhyām lalāmyām
 tā asmān nāśayāmāsi ॥ ²

is a charm against unlucky marks : the gods Savitṛ, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman and Anumati are implored to remove, *i.e.*, to render innocuous, the evil marks (in a woman's body according to Kauśika-sūtra 42, 19 : *nir lakṣmyam iti pāpa-lakṣaṇāyā mukham uksaty anvṛcaṁ dakṣiṇāt kṣa-stukāt*) and to confer *bhadrāṇi* and *saubhagam* (*i.e.*, auspicious marks) on her. Similarly, Ap.MB. 1, 1, 3 : *ábhrātrghnīm varuṇāpātiighnīm bṛhaspate* ; *índrāputraghnīm lakṣmyām tām asyai savitāḥ suva* refers to marks that presage good to brothers, husband and sons, and *ibid.* 1, 10, 3 : *yā 'syām patīghnī tanūḥ prajā-*

² This hymn is translated thus by Whitney (*AV. Translation*, p. 19) :—

“Out we drive the pallid sign, out the niggard ; then whatever things are excellent, those we lead together for our progeny. Savitar has driven out the trouble in her feet ; out have Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman [driven] [that] in her hands ; out hath Anumati, bestowing upon us ; the gods have driven this woman forward unto good fortune. Whatever in thy self, in thy body, is frightful, or what in hair or in mien - all that do we smite away with [our] words ; let god Savitar advance thee. The antelope-footed, the bull-toothed, the kine-repelling, the out-blowing, the licked-out, the pallid - these we make disappear from us.”

Geldner's view (*Ved. St.*, 1, 314 ff.) that the whole hymn is concerned with the domestic cat seems to me untenable.

ghnī paśughnī lakṣmighnī jāraghnīm asyai tām kṛṇomi refers to the body, *i.e.*, without doubt, to the bodymarks, that forebode destruction and death of husband, children, cattle and wealth. Similarly, there is no doubt that the expressions *āpatighnī* and *śivā paśubhyāḥ* in RV. 10, 85, 14: *āghoracakṣur āpatighny edhi śivā paśubhyāḥ sumānāḥ suvárcāḥ* have the same meaning as the words *āpatighnī*, etc., have in Ap. MB. 1, 1, 3 cited above and refer to bodily marks that presage good to husband and cattle.

A detailed description of such bodily marks and of their effects is given in *Agnipurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and other such works. In the last-mentioned book, ch. 69 deals with *kanyālakṣaṇa*, and Varāhamihira observes in verse 1, after enumerating some auspicious marks, that the person who marries the girl with such marks would become king (*tām udvahed yadi bhuvo 'dhipatitvam icchet*), and in verse 3, that the marks described therein bring the possessor much wealth (*vipulām śriyam ādadāhāti*). The commentator Bhaṭṭotpala too cites in the course of his commentary on the 3rd and 4th verses, the following observations of Samudra: *nābhi-deśāḥ suguptas ca yasyāḥ sā dhana-bhāginiḥ; jagha-nām vipulām yasyāḥ susparsām rōmavarjitam | suvarṇā-bharāṇair yuktā sā bhaved rājya-bhāginiḥ*. Similarly, Varāhamihira observes in *ibid.* 61.1-2, with reference to some auspicious marks of the dog and the bitch: *yasyā syāt sa karoti poṣṭur acirāt puṣṭām śriyām śvā gṛhe* and *yā sā rāṣṭram kukkanī pāti puṣṭā* (*i.e.*, the owner of such bitch becomes the ruler of a kingdom), and in 62.3, with reference to a hen having auspicious marks: *sā dadāti sucirām mahikṣitām śrī-yaśo-vijaya-virya-saṃpadāḥ*. In *ibid.* 63.2, he describes some auspicious marks of tortoises and remarks of a tortoise having such, that it causes the expansion of the kingdom (*so 'pi nṛpāṇām rāṣṭra-vivṛddhyai*) and Bhaṭṭotpala cites, in his commentary on 63.3, the verse: *strī-putra-matidām vidyāt*

kūrmāṁ rāṣṭra-vivardhanam. In *ibid.* 64.9, Varāhamihira, after describing four kinds of well-favoured goats, writes, *te catvārah śriyah putrā nālakṣmīke vasanti te*; and in 60.18 observes of a bull with auspicious marks that he brings wealth to his owner (*svāminam acirāt kurute patīm lakṣmyāḥ*).

smāddiṣṭi thus primarily signifies ‘possessing auspicious marks that bring to the possessor good luck (i.e., *śrī*, *yāśah*, *vijaya*, *vīrya*, *rājya*, *stri*, *putra*, *buddhi*, etc., as described above).’ Since however the possession of auspicious marks makes for beauty also, the word has the secondary sense of ‘handsome, beautiful.’ It is a synonym of the words *bhadra*, *kalyāṇa*, *maṅgala*, *śobhana*, (cf. *Amara-koṣa* 133: *bhadram kalyāṇam maṅgalam subham*), *suḥaga* and *subhāga*³ all which mean ‘having good luck; handsome, beautiful.’

I shall now show that the above-mentioned two meanings fit well into the context in all the passages in which *smaddiṣṭi* occurs.

3, 45, 5: *svayūr indra svarāṭ asi*
smāddiṣṭih svāyaśastaraḥ |
sá vāvṛdhānā ójasā puruṣṭuta
bhāvā nah suśrāvastamaḥ ||

“Thou, O Indra, goest wherever thou listest; thou art sovereign, handsome and very famous. O thou that art much praised, be our best hearer, growing in strength.” The word *svayūḥ* in pāda a is obscure. If one interprets it in the manner of *aśvayú*, *vasūyú*, *rathayú*, etc., the meaning would be, ‘eager for one’s own self,’ which is not very intelligible. The word occurs again in

³ *bhāga* means also ‘luck, fortune’; see Apte and compare the words *bhāgya* and *bhāgadheya*. There is thus no doubt that *subhāga* signifies ‘having good luck; handsome’ in the RV verses in which it is used and that Grassmann is wrong in explaining it as ‘schönem Anteil, schönes Gut besitzend’ in his *Wörterbuch*.

2, 4, 7: *sá yó vy ásthād abhí dákṣad urvīm pāśur naiti svayúr ágopāḥ* where it is said of Agni that he spreads himself on the earth, burning, and that he is *svayú*, like a cow without a cowherd. *svayú* seems to denote here, 'one who goes wherever one lists' and I have hence so explained it in 3, 45, 5 also.

sváyaśastara=*súyaśastara* (see p. 44) and not 'selbst-bewusst' as Geldner translates in his *RV. Ueber. smáddiṣṭi*=having auspicious marks, handsome; compare the epithets *bhadrā* and *susamīdýś* that are applied to Indra in 1, 82, 3: *susamīdýśam trā vayámi mágħavan vandíṣimáhi* and 1, 132, 2: *áhann índro yáthā vidé śīrṣuā-śīrṣuopavácyah | asmatrā te sadhryuk santu rātāyo bhadrā bhadrásya rātāyah.*

6, 63, 9: *utá ma ṛjré púrayasya raghví
sumīlhé śatám peruké ca pákvā |
śāndó dād dhiraṇinah smáddiṣṭin
dáśa vásāso abhiṣáca ṛṣvān ||*

"And [were given] to me two swift mares by Puraya, a hundred by Sumīdha, and cooked foods by Peruka. Śāṅḍa gave ten oxen, big, obedient (?), having auspicious marks, and adorned with gold ornaments." Regarding the auspicious marks of oxen, see ch. 60 of Bṛhat-samhitā; and regarding the gift of oxen decked with golden ornaments, compare Mahābhārata 1, 216, 7: [Pāṇḍubhyah prāhiṇod dhariḥ] dāntān sauvarṇaiḥ śubhraiḥ paṭṭair alaṁkṛtān.

7, 18, 23: *catvāro mā pājavanásya dānāḥ
smáddiṣṭayaḥ kṛṣaníno nireké |
ṛjáśo mā pṛthiviṣṭhāḥ sudāśas
tokām tokāya śrāvase vahanti ||*

"The four fleet horses, decked with golden ornaments and having auspicious marks, given to me by Sudāś, son of Pijavana, in the sacrifice, being on the earth, carry me (and my) offspring to offspring and

renown." Regarding the auspicious marks of horses, see ch. 65 of Br̥hat-saṁhitā. *nirke==vāj*, in the sacrifice.

The import of the second hemistich is not clear and the word *prthiviṣṭhāḥ* in pāda c is perplexing. Geldner, in his *Glossar*, gives the word as *prthiviṣṭhā* (though the Saṁhitā and Padapāṭha both have *oṭhāḥ*) 'auf der Erde stehend' but does not indicate with what word it is to be construed. Ludwig regards it as an irregular genitive singular referring to Sudāś, who, according to him, stays on the earth 'ausz hochachtung'! It seems plain that the word is an epithet of *r̥jrasaḥ* or horses, and I have so explained it in my above translation. I cannot see, however, any force in the word, and I am inclined to believe that the opposite of *prthiviṣṭhāḥ*, namely, *diviṣṭhāḥ*, would be much more appropriate here; compare the expression *dīci dhāvamānam* used of a horse in Kaurayāṇa's Dānastuti of Medhyātithi Kāṇva in 8, 3, 21: *yām me dur īdro marūtaḥ pākasthāmā kaūrayāṇaḥ | vīśveṣām īmānā sōbhiṣṭham úpeva divi dhāvamānam*.

Regarding the words *mā . . . tokam* in this hemistich, I have followed Geldner (*Kommentar*) in understanding it as 'me (and my) offspring'; Sāyaṇa, however, regards *tokam* as an attribute of *mā* (*tokam pūtravat pālanīyam māni vasiṣṭham*); and similarly Oldenberg too (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 23) suggests the explanation, "(mich) der ich (selbst) das kind (eines berühmten, ähnlich erfolgreichen Vaters) bin."

10, 62, 10: *utā dāsā paricīṣe*
smāddiṣṭi gópariṇasā |
yádus turvás ca māmahe ||

"And Yadu and Turva gave me for my service two handsome slaves, supplemented by cows (*i.e.*, in addition to cows)." Regarding the gift of slaves, compare, 8, 56, 3: *śatām me gardabhaṇām śatām īryāvatīnām | śatām dāsān áti srājaḥ* and also the following verses:

..... *tadā rāja Yudhiṣṭhirāḥ ||*
eko ratho vāraṇa eka eva

daśāśva-saṁkhyāś ca suvarṇa-bhāraḥ ।
 sataṁ gavāṁ hema-vibhūṣaṇānāṁ
 prasthaś ca datto vara-mauktikānāṁ ।
 ekaikaśo bhṛtya-catuṣṭayaṁ ca
 kāryeṣu dakṣaiḥ sa dadau nr̥pendraḥ ॥
 ṛtvigbhyah

in Jaiminīyāśvamedha (64,46-48 ; p. 152a) which describe the gifts made by King Yudhiṣṭhīra to the priests who officiated in his *asvamedha* sacrifice.

* * * * *

With reference to the word *smát*, I have already observed on p. 237 above that it is the opinion of Sāyaṇa (on 1, 186, 6-8 ; 7, 87, 3), Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg and other exegetists that it is the equivalent of *saha*, a meaning, which, it must be acknowledged, fits fairly satisfactorily into the context in all the verses in which the word occurs. I have also observed that Sāyaṇa (on 1, 51, 15 ; 5, 41, 15 ; etc.) has explained the word as the equivalent of *su-*, *praśasta*, *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra* and that, for my part, I am inclined to believe that this is the real meaning of the word. The reasons for such belief are as follow :

1. It is the opinion of Sāyaṇa, given expression to in the course of his commentary on 2, 4, 9 (*smat sumad ati-prabhūtāni*), 8, 26, 19 (*smat sumat śobhanam*), 8, 25, 24 (*smat sumad ukāra-lopaś chāndasah*) and 8, 28, 2 (*smat sumat śobhanā*) that *smat* is identical with *sumat*. A like opinion is expressed by Roth, too, who writes (PW ; s.v. *sumat*) "Wir halten es für eine andere Aussprache von *smat*"; and similarly Oldenberg, too, observes (RV. Noten, I, p. 76): "Dass Identität von *sumat* und *smat* aufzugeben ist (Geldner, Ved. Stud. 2, 190 ; Bartholomae BB. 17, 115), bezweifle ich. Der Gebrauch beider Worte zeigt zu auffallende Gleichartigkeit," and draws attention to the similar formation of the compounds *sumádratha* and *smád-abhiśu*, and of the sentences *sīdatām sumat* and

smat sadantu, smac caranti ye. This opinion seems to me to be justified and I agree with the above-named savants that *smát* is identical with *sumát*.

This word *sumát*, too, it is true, is explained by Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, and other exegetists as the equivalent of *saha*.⁴ But Geldner has, in his short article on this word in *Ved. St.* 2, p. 190, pointed out that Sāyaṇa interprets it as *sobhāna* or *kalyāṇa* in his commentary on 2, 36, 3; 3, 3, 9; 8, 45, 39; 87, 4; and 10, 32, 3, and expressed the opinion that *sumat* can be best explained as *sobhāna*. It is his belief that this word is derived from *su* with the suffix *mat* and means 'schön;' and in support of such conclusion, he points to the parallelism of *sumádratha*, used in 3, 3, 9 and 8, 45, 39 of Agni and *hari* with *surátha* used likewise of Agni and *hari* in 4, 2, 4 and 7, 36, 4.

This parallelism is by itself significant enough; but in addition we find the word *bhadrá-jānayāḥ* in 5, 61, 4 is parallel to *sumáj-jāni* that occurs in 1, 156, 2 and *bhadrá-vrāta* in 10, 47, 5 to *sumád-gaya* which occurs in 2, 36, 3; and the word *sumád-āṁśu* too, applied to a mare in 1, 100, 6 seems to be parallel to *sutúka* and *sváñc* that are applied to horses in 10, 3, 7 and 7, 56, 16. Hence there does not seem to be any doubt that *sumat* is, as said by Geldner, equivalent to *sobhāna*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra*; and I shall show presently that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages in which the word occurs. Since however *smat* is identical with *sumat*, it follows that *smat* too signifies *kalyāṇa*, *sobhāna* or *bhadra*.

2. A like conclusion is pointed to by the parallelism of some compounds beginning with *smát* also. To the

⁴ The other explanations proposed for this word which is enumerated in the *Nighaṇṭu* (4,3) are:—*svayam* (Yāska in *Nirukta* 6, 22, 3; Durga and Devarāja); *svayam* or *svataḥ* (Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 142, 7; 162, 7; 5, 2, 4; 1, 100, 16) and *suṣṭhu mādyanti hṛṣyanti* (Sāyaṇa on TS. 4, 6, 8, 3; Mahīdhara on VS. 26, 24). See Geldner, l. c.

word *smád-abhīśu*, used of a horse in 8, 25, 24 corresponds the word *svabhīśu* used likewise of horses in 8, 68, 16-18; to the word *smád-diṣṭi* correspond, as already pointed out above, the words *subhágā* and *subhágá*; and to the word *smád-rātiṣācaḥ* ‘conferring splendid gifts’ in 8, 28, 2: *várūṇo mitrō aryamā smádrātiṣāco agnáyah* corresponds *surātāyah* in 9, 81, 4: *ā nah pūṣā pāvamā-nah surātāyo mitrō gacchantu várūṇah sajóṣasah*.

It is therefore my belief that *sumát* or *smát* is the equivalent of *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra*; and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all passages. I shall begin with those in which the form *sumat* occurs.

1, 100, 16: *rohīc chyāvā sumád-amśur lalāmir*
dyukṣā rāyā rjṛāśvasya |
vṛṣaṇvantam bibhratī dhūrṣu rátham
mandrā ciketa nāhuṣiṣu vikṣu ||

“ The red brown (mare) of fine speed, bright (*i.e.*, glossy), pleasing, having a spot on the forehead, that has been given to Rjṛāśva and draws the chariot yoked with a steer has attracted notice among the Nahus clans.” *sumád-amśu* in pāda a is somewhat ambiguous. Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translates it as ‘schöngezeichnet (?)’ and observes: “ *sumád-amśu*; mit schönen oder gleichmässigen *amśu* versehen, *amśu* unbekannt, ob von der Zeichnung oder sonstigen Zieraten des Tiers? ” Apte, in his *Dictionary*, assigns to this word the meanings, among others, of (1) lustre, brilliance; (2) speed; and (3) garment, decoration; and I have in the above translation, preferred the meaning ‘speed.’ Compare the epithets *sutuka*, and *svāñc*, both meaning ‘fine-going, *i.e.*, swift’ that are applied to horses in 10, 3, 7: *agnīḥ sutūkaḥ sutūkebhīr áśvaiḥ* and 7, 56, 16: *átyāso ná yé marūtāḥ svāñcaḥ*. It is however possible that the poet may have used the word *amśu* here in the sense of ‘lustre, brilliance’ (cp. the epithet *śobhiṣṭham* applied to

a horse in 8, 3, 21 : *vīśveṣāṁ tmānā śobhiṣṭham úpēva divī dhāvamānam* : compare also the epithet *candrāṁśu-sama-varcasāṁ* in the Mahābhārata passage, 1, 247, 40 cited below) or of 'garment, decoration' ; compare the epithets *hiranīnah* and *kr̄ṣanīnah* in 6, 63, 2 and 7, 18, 23 cited above. Compare also 8, 68, 16 : *surāthāñ ātithigvē svabhīśūñ ārkṣē | āśvamedhē supēśasah* and Māhabhārata 1, 216, 17 : [*Pāṇḍubhyah prāhiṇod dhariḥ*] *gajān vīñtān bhadrāṁś ca sad-aśvāṁś ca svālāmkytān | rathāṁś ca dāntān sauvarṇaiḥ śubhraiḥ pāṭṭair alāmkytān* ; ibid. 1, 247, 40 : *vāḍavānāṁ ca śuddhānāṁ candrāṁśu-sama-varcasāṁ | dadau Janārdanah pṛītyā sahasraṁ hemabhūṣitam* ||

1, 156, 2 : *yāḥ pūrvyāya vedhāsc nāvīyase sumāj-jānaye vīśnave dādāśati | yó jātāṁ asya mahatō máhi brāvat sēd u śrāvobhir yújyam cid abhy àsat* ||

"He who makes offerings to Viṣṇu, the old, very young, wise one, that has a beautiful wife; he who announces the great birth of this great one, he will surpass even his friend in renown." As observed above, *sumājjāni* is the synonym of *bhadra-jāni* that occurs in 5, 61, 4 : *pára vīrāsa etana máryāśo bhádra-jānayah*, and means 'he who has a beautiful wife.' It is very probable that, in both verses, the beautiful wives are thought of as accompanying their husbands. Geldner's translation of the word as 'dem die Frauen lieb sind' (RV. Ueber., p. 193) seems to me to be incorrect: so far as we know, *-jāni* denotes 'wife' and not 'woman' and *smát* does not mean 'lieb.'

2, 36, 3 : *ámeva nah suhazā ḍ hí gántana ní barhiṣi sadatanā ráṇiṣṭana | áthā mandasva jujuṣāṇó ándhasas tváṣṭar devébhir jánibhiḥ sumád-gayaḥ* ||

"Come to us as to your house, O ye that are easy to call (i.e., ye that at once hear our call); sit on the

barhis and be glad. Rejoice, finding pleasure in the drink, O Tvaṣṭṛ that hast a glorious following of gods and (their) wives." *sumád-gaṇah* is, as already observed, a synonym of *bhadrā-vrāta* which occurs in 10, 47, 5 : *bhadrā-vrātam vípraviram svarṣām*.

3, 3, 9 : *vibhāvā devāḥ surāṇah pāri kṣitīr
agnīr babhūva sāvasā sumád-rathah |
tāsyā vratāni bhūri-poṣīno vayām
úpa bhūṣema dāma ā suvrktibhiḥ ||*

"The bright happiness-bringing god with the beautiful chariot, Agni, has, through his might, encompassed protectingly (all) men. Of him who nourishes many, we shall honour the ordinances with hymns in our dwelling." With regard to *sumád-ratha*, compare the epithets *suratha*, *hiranya-ratha*, and *candra-ratha* applied to Agni in 4, 2, 4 : *sv-áśvō agne surāthah surādhā éd u
vaha suhaviṣe jánāya* ; 4, 1, 8 : *sá dūtō viśvēd abhī vāṣṭi
sádmā hótā híraṇyaratho ráṁsujihvah* ; and 1, 141, 12 : *utá naḥ sudyótma jírāśvō hótā mandráh śṛṇavac
candrārathah*.

8, 56, 5 : *ácety agniś cikitúr
havyavāt̄ sá sumádrathah |
agnih śukréṇa śocīṣā
bṛhát̄ sūro arocata
diví súryo arocata ||*

"Agni, the carrier of offerings, wise, who has a beautiful chariot, has been perceived. Agni shone high (as) the sun with bright light ; he shone in heaven (as) the sun."

8, 45, 39 : *ā ta etā vacoyújā
hári grōbhne sumádrathā |
yád iṁ brahmábhyā id dádaḥ ||*

"I take hold of these thy two bay horses with the beautiful chariot (*i.e.*, that draw the beautiful chariot), that yoke themseves at word, and that thou gavest to the

priests." Compare, in respect, of pādas a and b, 7, 36, 4 : *girā yá etā yunájad dhári ta índra priyá suráthā sūra dhāyū*; compare also 1, 56, 1 : *dákṣam mahé pāyayate hiranyáyam rátham ávátyā háríyogam ábhvasam* and other similar passages in which Indra's chariot is described as 'golden'.

1, 142, 7 : *ā bhándamane úpāke
náktośásā supéśasā |
yahví rtásya mātárā
sídatām barhír å sumát ||*

" May Night and Dawn, resplendent, near to each other, adorned with jewels, always moving, mothers of *ṛta*, sit on the beautiful barhis." *barhī* *sumat*= 'das schöne barhis,' as Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) has rightly translated. Compare the expressions *syonám barhī* in 10, 110, 4; *surabhi bhūtv asmē . . barhī* in 10, 70, 4 and the epithet *su-* in the term *subarhis* which occurs in 1, 74, 5 and 8, 20, 25. The meaning of *yahvá* is not quite certain and my translation, ' always moving,' is merely tentative.

1, 162, 7 : *úpa prágat sumán me 'dhāyi mánma
devánām åsā úpa vítáprṣṭhah |
ánv enam víprā r̄ṣayo madanti
devánām puṣté cakrmā subándhum ||*

" He [sc. the sacrificial horse] has gone—a fine hymn has been made and offered by me—to the region of the gods, he who has a comfortable back. The inspired seers glorify him. We have made him our mate in the nourishing of the gods." Regarding *sumat manma*, compare the expressions *cárur matih* and *śundhyūr matih* in 9, 91, 14 : *hṛdā matím janaye cárum agnáye*; 6, 8, 1 : *vaiśvánarāya matir návyasī súcih sóma iva pāvate cárur agnáye*; 7, 88, 1 : *prá śundhyúvam várūṇāya pŕeṣṭhām matím vasiṣṭha mīlhúse bharasva* and the terms *sūktá*, *suṣṭuti* and *sumatí* (for references see Grassmann s.v.) meaning 'beautiful hymn.'

8, 87, 4 : *pibatam̄ sómaṁ mādhumantam aśvinā̄
barhiḥ sīdataṁ sumāt |
tā vāydhānā̄ úpa suṣṭutim̄ divō
gantam̄ gaurāv ivériṇam̄ ||*

“Drink, O ye two Aśvins, the sweet Soma juice. Sit on the beautiful *barhis*. Making our hymn glorious, come ye here from heaven (as swift) as two buffaloes go to the hole (filled with water; to slake their thirst).” *irinam*= hole (filled with water); see Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 224. The tertium comparationis in the simile here is swiftness; compare 8, 4, 3 : *yáthā gauró apā kṛtám̄ tṛṣyann éty ávériṇam̄ | āpitvē naḥ pṛapitvē tūyám̄ ā gahi káṇveṣu sú sáca piba*. And hence it also becomes plain that it is not to the hymn, *suṣṭuti* (as Sāyaṇa, Ludwig and Pischel l.c. opine) that the Aśvins are exhorted to come quickly, but to the Soma juice mentioned in pāda a; compare also in this connection 7, 69, 6 : *nára gauréva vidyútam̄ trṣāṇā̄ 'smākam adyá savanópa yātam* and 8, 35, 7-9 : *sómaṁ sutám̄ mahisé-vāva gacchathāḥ*. The word *suṣṭutim̄* is to be construed with *vāydhānā̄* which is used in the causative sense (and *upā* with *gantam̄*); compare 10, 25, 10 : *matim̄ vīprasya vārdhayat* and 8, 36, 7 : *índra bráhmāni vārdhāyan*. The meaning of the expression *suṣṭutim̄ vāydhānā̄* is ‘making glorious the hymn’; that is, ‘making known that the hymn is potent and has achieved its object by bestowing favours upon us.’

5, 2, 4 : *kṣetrād apaśyam̄ sanutás cárantam̄
sumád yūthám̄ ná purú sōbhamānam̄ |
ná tā a grbhrann ájaniṣṭa hi śāḥ
páliknir id yuvatáyo bhavanti ||*

“I saw him very splendid-looking like a noble herd moving away from the field. They (*fem.*) did not seize him, for he was born; the grey-haired women became young.” Hymn 5.2, in which this verse occurs, is obscure and very diverse views have been expressed about its import; see Sieg’s *Sagenstoffe des RV.*, p. 66 ff.;

Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 368; and *RV. Noten*, I, 311, and the literature cited therein. I am not therefore at all certain that the translation given above is in conformity with the idea which the poet had in his mind when he composed the above verse. I do not know who are meant by *tāh* in pāda c, nor what connection they have with the 'grey-haired women that became young' (or 'the youthful women that became grey-haired') mentioned in pāda d. The comparison in the first hemistich, too, is obscure; and in fact, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, l.c. doubts whether there is a comparison there. Compare, however, Kirātārjuniya, 4, 10: *upāratāh paścima-rātri-gocarād apārayantah patitum javena gām | tam utsukāś cakrur avekṣaṇotsukaiḥ gavāṁ gaṇāḥ prasnuta-pivaraudhasaḥ* in which the herds of kine moving away from the fields in which they had grazed (towards home) are described as making Arjuna 'desirous of seeing them,' i.e., as having been 'worthy of being seen' or 'beautiful.'⁵

⁵One particular beauty that is referred to by the above verse as being worthy of admiration in the herds of cows, is their large udders that were oozing milk. The large udder of the cow is mentioned in Raghuvaiṇśa 2, 18: *āpīna-bhārodvahana-prayatnād gr̥ṣṭir gurutvād vāpuṣo narendrah | ubhāv alāmcakratur añcītābhyaṁ tāpo-vanāvṛtti-patham galābhyaṁ* also. In *ibid*, 1, 82-84:

*anīndyā Nandinī nāma dhenur āvavrite vanāt ||
lalāṭodayam ābhugnam pallava-snigdha-pāṭalā ||
bibhrati śveta-romāṅkam sandhyeva śaśinām navam ||
bhūvāṁ koṣṇena kūṇḍodhnī medhyenāvabhr̥thād api ||
prasravēnābhīvarṣanti vatsaloka-pravartinā ||*

not only the large udder overflowing with milk, but the white crescent-like mark on the forehead are mentioned as points of beauty.

The large udder, it may be observed, is associated with the moving away (towards home) from the grazing pasture, because it is only after the cow has grazed its fill that its udder becomes filled with milk and large in size. Hence the express mention of 'moving away from the field' in *RV.* 5, 2, 4 and in the verses cited above from the Kirātārjuniya and Raghuvaiṇśa.

With *sumat* in 5, 2, 4, should be compared the word *anīndyā* (Mallinatha: *anīndyā prasastā*) in *Raghu*, 1, 82 cited above, and *pūnya-darśanā* in *ibid*, 1, 86.

10, 32, 3 : *tád ín me chantsad vápuṣo vápuṣṭaram*
putró yáj jānam pítrór adhíyati |
jāyā pátiṁ vahati vagnúna sumát
puṁsá íd bhadró vahatúḥ páriṣkṛtah |

“That the son should remember the birth of his parents,—this has seemed to me more remarkable than what is remarkable. The beautiful wife marries the husband with a shout; a splendid wedding has been made ready for the man.” The sense of this verse is not very clear; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, 237. *vápuṣo* *vápuṣṭaram*= *citrāc citrataram* or most remarkable. *vagnu*, shout, in pāda c, denotes perhaps a ‘shout of joy’ and *sumat*, in the same pāda, refers, I conceive, to *jāyā* rather than to *vagnu* as Sāyaṇa and Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2, 190) opine. It corresponds to *bhadrā vadhuḥ* in 10, 27, 12: *bhadrā vadhuḥ bhavati yát supéśāḥ* and *sumāṅgalīr vadhuḥ* in 10, 85, 33: *sumāṅgalīr iyám vadhuḥ imāṁ saméta pásyata*.

1, 73, 6 : *ṛtásya hí dhenávo vāvaśānāḥ*
smádūdhniḥ pípáyanta dyúbhaktāḥ |
parāvátaḥ sumatíṁ bhíkṣamāṇā
ví sindhavāḥ samávā sasrur ádriṁ |

“The lowing milch-cows of ṛta (i.e., that follow ṛta) that are bestowed by heaven and have fine udders, have oozed (milk). Begging for favour from afar, the rivers have burst though the midst of the rocks.” *smádūdhniḥ*= *śobhanodhniḥ*, having fine, that is, large, udders; see note on p. 250 above, and compare also Raghuvamśa 2, 49: *gāḥ koṭiśāḥ sparsayato ghaṭodhniḥ*. The verse is addressed to Agni and refers to the milch-cow and the waters that are necessary for the offering of oblations. *vāvaśānāḥ* in pāda a is ambiguous; it may mean ‘lowing’ (as translated above) or ‘longing for: eager.’ See pp. 85 ff. above.

7, 87, 3 : *pári spáśo várūṇasya smádiṣṭā*
ubhé pásyanti ródasī suméke |

*ṛtāvānah kavāyo ya jñādhirāḥ
prācetaso yá iṣāyanta mānma ||*

“The swift-moving spies of Varuṇa survey the two beautiful worlds, Heaven and Earth,—they who inspire thoughts, who are wise, far-seeing, followers of the Law, (and) knowers of the sacrifice.” *smadiṣṭāḥ*=*śobhana-gamanāḥ* as Sāyaṇa has explained; that is, swift-moving. Compare the epithets *bhūrnayah*, *iṣirāsaḥ* and *svāñcaḥ* that are applied to *spāsaḥ* in 9, 73, 4: *āsyā spāśo ná ní miṣanti bhūrnayah* and 9, 73, 7: *rudrāśa eṣām iṣirāso adrūhaḥ spāsaḥ svāñcaḥ sudyśo nṛcákṣasah.*

8, 25, 24: *smádabhīśū kásāvantā
víprā náviṣṭhayā matī |
mahó vājīnāv árvantā sácasanam ||*

“O ye wise [Mitra and Varuṇa], I have, through my latest hymn, obtained plenty of wealth and two fleet racers with beautiful reins and whips.” *smád-abhīśū*=*sv-abhīśū*; compare 8, 68, 16; 18: *suráthān ātithigvē svabhīśūr ārkṣé | āśvamedhē supéśasah ||* *aiśu cetad vṛṣṇavaty antár rjréṣv áruṣi | svabhīśūh kásāvatī.*

The word *víprā* in pāda b has caused some difficulty to the exegetists. Sāyaṇa regards it as accusative dual and explains it as—*víprā víprau medhāvinau | medhāvī stotā yathā stutyaṁ devam stutibhiḥ pṛīṇayati tadvat samtoṣakau.* So also does Ludwig who however translates the verse as, ‘zgleich gewann ich die beiden [göttlichen] Brāhmaṇa mit hieher gewandtem zügel mit der geiszel in der hand und die beiden groszen kraftvollen renner’ and thus makes out that the *víprā* or two Brāhmaṇas formed part of the gift which the poet received! Grassman (s.v. *víprā*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, 83), on the other hand, regard it as feminine instrumental singular (and attribute of *matī*). It seems to me however that the most natural course by far is to regard it as vocative dual, referring to Mitra and Varuṇa to whom the hymn is addressed; compare for instance 8, 68, 15;

rjrvāv indrotá ā dade hárī ḍkṣasya sūnávi | āśvamedhásya róhitā and 6, 47, 22 : *prastoká īn nū rādhasas ta indra dásā kóṣayīr dásā vajino dāt* in which the vocative *indra* is used in Dānastutis. Compare also 1, 2, 9 : *kavī no mitrāváruṇā tuvijātā uṛukṣáyā* and 5, 71, 2 : *víśvasya hí pracetasā várūṇa mítra rājathah* in which the epithets *kavī* and *pracetasā*, meaning *viṣprā*, are applied to Mitra and Varuṇa and also 6, 68, 3 : *tā gṛṇīhi namasyēbhiḥ śūṣaiḥ sumnēbhir īndrāváruṇā cakānā | vājrenānyāḥ śāvasā hānti vṛtrām sīṣaktv anyó vṛjāneṣu vīprah* and 7, 88, 4-6 : *stotāram vīprah sudinatvē áhnām . . yandhí smā vīpra stuvaté várūtham* in which the epithet *vīpra* is applied to Varuṇa.

8, 28, 2 : *várūṇo mitrō aryamā
smádrātiṣāco agnáyah |
pátnīvanto vāṣatkṛtāḥ ||*

“Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryamā, the Agnis, with their splendid gifts, and their wives,—to them is vaṣat called (*i.e.*, to them are oblations offered).” As already observed, *smádrātiṣācāḥ* is equivalent to *surātāyah* occurring in 9, 81, 4 cited above ; and hence it is very probable that the word is here an attribute, not only of the Agnis, but of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman also.

8, 34, 6 : *smát-purāṇḍhīr na ā gahi
vīśvātodhīr na ūtāye |
divó amuṣya sāsato
divām yayá divāvaso ||*

“Come to our help, thou with glorious blessings that hast thoughts on all sides ; the rulers of this heaven have gone to heaven, O Divāvasu.” Or, should we interpret *smát-purāṇḍhīḥ* as ‘he whose wife is handsome’? Compare in this connection 3, 53, 6 : *kalyāṇīr jāyā surāṇām gṛhē te* ‘A handsome wife is (thy) joy in thy house’ ; 10, 86, 11 : *indrāṇīm āsú nāriṣu subhāgām ahám aśravam* ‘Among these women, I have heard that Indra’s wife is (the most) handsome’ ; and TB. 2, 4, 2, 7 :

indrāṇī devī subhāgā supātnī. As in 1, 156, 2 and 5, 61, 4 (see p. 246 above), it is possible that the prayer addressed to Indra to attend the sacrifice includes his wife also. Compare 1, 82, 6: *pūṣanvān vajrin sám u pātnyāmadah* ‘Accompanied by Pūṣan, hast thou, O Vajra-bearer, revelled with thy wife.’

The meaning of the second hemistich which forms the refrain of the first fifteen verses of this hymn is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as, *amuṣya amuṣminn indre sāsataḥ sāsati | vibhaktivyat�ayāḥ | tatra vayam sukham āsmāhe he divāvāso dīptahaviṣkendra divām svargām yaya yūyam gacchatha | bahuvacanam pūjārtham | yad vā | he divāvāso dyu-nāmakam amuṣya amuṣi lokam sāsanām kurvanto yūyam divām svargām yaya gacchatha | atra bahu-vacanam pūjārtham.* Grassmann translates it as: “Von jenes Herrschers Himmel kamt ihr (i.e., Indra and his horses) zu dem Feste Tageshell”, and Ludwig as, “auf jenes Dyaus befel seid ihr auch [o falben], o Divāvasu, zum himel gegangen.” These interpretations are all unsatisfactory and that given by me above is scarcely better though I have adopted in it Oldenberg’s suggestion (*RV. Noten*, II, 105) that *sāsataḥ* is nominative plural and not genitive singular.

1, 51, 15: *idām nāmo vṛṣabhaḥya svarāje
satyāśuṣmāya tavāse 'vāci |
asmīnn indra vṛjāne sárvavīrāḥ
smát sūribhis táva sármān syāma ||*

“This adoration (hymn) has been recited for the strong bull, sovereign, whose courage is strong; in this distress, O Indra, may we with all our men and with our noble patrons be in thy protection.” *smát sūribhiḥ =bhadraiḥ sūribhiḥ*, fortunate patrons; i.e., noble and rich patrons; compare the epithet *sujāta*, noble, applied to *sūri* in 2, 2, 11: *sá no bodhi sahasya praśāmsyo yásmin sujātā iṣayanta sūrāyah* and 5, 6, 2: *sám árvanto raghu-*

drúvah sám sujātāsaḥ sūrāyah; compare also 10, 81, 6: *múhyantv anyé abhīto jánāsa ihāsmākam maghāvā sūrir astu*. It must be observed however that though I have followed the current practice of Vedic expositors (Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, etc.) in translating the word *sūri* here as 'patron,' I am not satisfied that this is the real meaning of the word. Compare also Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 419): "Die eigentliche Bedeutung von *sūri* ist noch unsicher."

1, 100, 13: *tásya vájrah krandati smát svarṣā
divó ná tvesó raváthah śimivān |
tám sacante sanáyas tám dhánāni
marútvān no bhavatv índra ūti ||*

"His beautiful thunderbolt, that wins light, roars; the sound is terrible and overpowering like that of Dyaus. Him follow successes and prizes. May Indra with the Maruts come to our help." *smat vajrah=śobhano vajrah*; compare 8, 70, 2: *hástāya vájrah práti dhāyi darśatāh* and 9, 97, 1: *eṣá prá kóṣe mádhumān acikradad índrasya vájro vāpuṣo vāpuṣtarah*. Regarding the simile in pāda b, compare 1, 58, 2: *divó ná sānu stanáyann acikradat*; 4, 10, 4: *prá te divó ná stanayanti śúṣmāḥ*; 7, 3, 6: *divó ná te tanyatúr eti śúṣmāḥ* and other similar verses in which the sound of Dyaus, *i.e.*, thunder, is mentioned as *upamāna*.

1, 186, 6: *utá na ím tváṣṭā gantv ácchā
smát sūribhir abhípitve sajósāḥ |
ā vṛtrahéndras carṣaṇiprāś
tuvíṣṭamo narām na ihā gamyāḥ ||*

"And may Tvaṣṭṛ also come to us gladly in the evening with the glorious and gracious gods and goddesses. May Indra, the killer of Vṛtra, the strongest of heroes, who fulfils (the expectations of) men, come here." The meaning of *sūri* is, as observed above, uncertain. We know however that it is used to denote the gods (see Grassmann, s.v.); and since gods and their

wives are mentioned in 2, 36, 3 explained above and also in 6, 50, 13 : *tvāṣṭā devēbhir jánibhiḥ sajósāḥ* and 10, 64, 10: *tvāṣṭā devēbhir jánibhiḥ pītā vācaḥ* in connection with Tvaṣṭṛ, I regard the word here as an *ekaśeṣa* referring to gods and their wives.

1, 186, 8 : *utá na īṁ marúto vṛddhásenāḥ
smād ródasī sámanasāḥ sadantu |
pṛṣadaśvāso 'vánayo ná ráthā
risādaso mitrayújo ná devāḥ ||*

“ And may the Maruts also, with a great army (*i.e.*, who are many in number and form a great army by themselves),—the beautiful Rodasī (also)—sit, unanimous, on our (barhis), the gods with spotted horses, whose chariots (move as swiftly) as rivers, who are as difficult to check as those joined with their allies.” The translation of pāda d is tentative as the meaning of *risādasaḥ* is not certain. I am however inclined to believe that it means ‘ swift ; wild ; impetuous ; difficult to check ’ (compare Pischel in *Ved. St.* 3, 190 ff.) and that the comparison concerns kings on the offensive who have effected a junction with their allies. Compare 1, 190, 6 : *durniyántuh pāriprīto ná mitrāḥ* ‘ difficult to check like an ally who is well-pleased.’ *smād ródasī=bhadrā rodasī* ; compare the epithet *bhadrajānayah* that is applied to the Maruts in 5, 61, 4 : *pārā vīrāsa etana máryāso bhádrajānayah* with reference (presumably) to Rodasī.

2, 4, 9 : *tváyā yáthā gr̥tsamadāśo agne
gúhā vanvánta úparāni abhī syūḥ |
suvírāśo abhimātiṣāḥḥāḥ
smāt sūribhyo gr̥ṇaté tād váyo dhāḥ ||*

‘ That the Gr̥tsamadas, O Agni, attacking secretly, may, through thee, overcome (their) neighbours (and become) possessed of fine sons (and) conquerors of enemies—bestow such strength on the noble patrons and on the praiser (*i.e.*, priest).’ The sense of pāda b is obscure. The epithet *gūhā vanvantaḥ* ‘ attacking or

winning secretly' is one that is more suited to the enemies of Agni's worshippers rather than to such worshippers themselves. The verb *as* with *abhi*, too, in the sense of 'overcome' takes generally in the RV objects like *ṛytanāyūn* (3,1,16 : *abhi* *ṣyāma* *ṛytanāyūn* *ádevān*), *śatrūn* (1, 178, 5 : *tváyā* *vayám* *maghavān* *indra* *śatrūn* *abhi* *ṣyāma*), *rakṣasāḥ* (10, 132, 2 : *yuvóḥ* *krāññāya* *sakhyáir* *abhi* *ṣyāma* *rakṣasāḥ*), and similar words ; and it is strange to meet with the word *uparān* here as its object. Geldner therefore translates (RV. Ueber.) the pāda as, 'die Nebenbuhler (?) heimlich überwinden' and observes, "úpara scheint hier und 6, 2, 11 eine von der sonstigen abweichende Bedeutung zu haben. In 7, 48, 3 (wo *uparātāti*, vgl. av. *uparatāt*—) spricht ihm *aryāḥ*, also entweder rivalis, Nebenbuhler oder (mehr in Anlehnung an den avest. Sinn von *upara*) überlegen."

5, 41, 15 : *padé-pade me jarimā ní dhāyi*
várūtrī vā śakrā yā pāyúbhīś ca |
síṣaktu mātā mahī rasā nah
smát sūribhir rjuhástā rjuvánih ||

"At every step has old age been placed. May the great mother Rasā, mighty, bestowing beneficent gifts, with beneficent things in her hands, who protects us with protections, help us (and) our noble patrons." *jarimā* in pāda a means perhaps 'long life'; compare 10, 59, 4 : *dyúbhir hitó jarimā sú no astu* and Oldenberg's observation thereon (RV. Noten, II, p. 197), 'jarimán wohl in günstigem Sinn als "langes Leben" zu verstehen, vgl. 10, 87, 21 [*sákhe sákhāyam ajáro jarimé 'gne mārtān ámartyas tvám nah*].' Compare also 1, 116, 25 : *utá pásyann aśnuván dīrghám áyur ástam ivéj jarimānam jagamyām*.

5, 41, 19 : *abhi na ílā yūthásya mātā*
smán nadíbhir urvásí vā gṛṇātu |
urvásí vā bṛhaddivā gṛṇānā
'bhyūrṇvānā prabhṛthásyāyóḥ ||

"May Idā, mother of the herd, praise us, or Urvaśī with the beautiful rivers, Urvaśī or Bṛhaddivā who is praised and who is surrounded by the offerings of diligent men." *smán nadībhiḥ=bhadrābhir nadībhiḥ.* Compare the epithets *citrā*, *darśatā*, etc., applied to the river Sindhu in 10, 75, 7-8: *áśvā ná citrā vāpuṣīva darśatā || sváśvā síndhuḥ suráthā suvāśā hiranyaśyā súkṛtā . . . yuvatīḥ . . . subhágā.*

5, 87, 8: *adveṣo no maruto gātúm etana
śrótā hávam̄ jaritúr evayāmarut !
viṣṇor maháḥ samanyavo yuyotana
smád rathyò ná daṁsáñā
'pa dvéṣāṁsi sanutáḥ ||*

"Being favourably inclined, take the way towards us, O Maruts; listen to the call of the praiser (priest). Being of the same mind as the great Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, in combination with the great Viṣṇu), keep away from us, by your great power, (all) evil things, as good charioteers (keep away from difficult roads)." Regarding the simile in pāda d, compare 8, 47, 5: *pári no vṛṇajann aghā durgāṇi rathyò yathā* "May distresses keep away from us as charioteers keep away from difficult roads." *evayāmarut* in pāda b occurs as refrain in all verses of the hymn and has been left untranslated by me. It has no connection with the other words of the verses, and seems to be used as a sort of interjection. See PW and Grassmann. *smád rathyāḥ=praśastā rathyāḥ* as explained by Sāyaṇa, that is, clever charioteers who know how to drive.

7, 3, 8: *yā vā te sánti dāśúṣe ádhṛṣṭā
giro vā yābhir nṛvátir uruṣyāḥ |
tābhir naḥ sūno sahaso ní pāhi
smát sūrin̄ jarit̄n̄ jātavedah ||*

"The impregnable (citadels) that thou hast for him who makes offerings to thee, or through which thou canst protect hymns with men (*i.e.*, hymns and

also the men, that is, us, that recite them), with them, O son of strength, O Jātavedas, protect us singers (and our) noble patrons." Compare Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, p. 7. The word *purah*, 'citadels,' has to be understood here after *adhṛṣṭāḥ*; compare 7, 15, 14: *ādhā mahi na āyasy ánādhṛṣṭo nṛpītaye | pūr bharā* *śatābhujih* and 10, 101, 8: *pūrah kṛṇudhvam āyasīr* *ādhṛṣṭāḥ* and also pāda d of the preceding verse: *śatāṁ* *pūrbhīr āyasībhir nī pāhi*. Regarding the expression *pūrbhīr uruṣyāḥ*, compare 1, 58, 8: *āgne grīṇāntam* *āṁhasa uruṣyórjo napāt pūrbhīr āyasībhiḥ*; and regarding *gira uruṣyāḥ*, compare 10, 177, 2: *tāṁ dyótamānāṁ* *svaryāṁ manīśāṁ rtásya padé kaváyo nī pānti*; 10, 93, 11: *etāṁ sāṁsam indra . . . sādā pāhi*; and 7, 56, 19: *imē* [sc. *marutah*] *sāṁsam vanuṣyatō nī pānti*. *smát sūrīn=* *bhadrān sūrīn*.

8, 18, 4: *devébhir devy aditē*
'riṣṭabharmanā ā gahi |
smát sūrībhiḥ purupriye suśārmabhiḥ ||

"Come, O goddess Aditi, very dear, that bringest blessings, with the bright well-protecting gracious gods." Regarding *smát devébhiḥ* 'gracious gods,' compare *bhadrā devāḥ* in 10, 72, 5: *tāṁ devā ánv ajāyanta bhadrā* *amṛtabandhavāḥ*.

8, 20, 18: *yé cārhanti marútah sudānavah*
smán mīlhūṣas cáranti yé |
ātaś eid ā na úpa vásyasā hṛdā
yúvāna ā vatydhvam ||

"The liberal ones (*i.e.*, worshippers) who adore the Maruts, who serve (*i.e.*, worship) the gracious ones that rain blessings,—turn, O ye youths, even from thence (*i.e.*, from heaven) towards us with very gracious mind." *sudānavah* is an epithet of worshippers; compare 8, 103, 7: *āśvāṁ ná gīrbhī rathyāṁ sudānavo marmṛjyánte devayávah* and 9, 74, 4: *saṁcīnāḥ sudānavah pṛīṇanti tāṁ nárah*. *smat= bhadrān*; compare the epithet *subhaga* applied to

the Maruts in 5, 60, 6: *yád uttamé maruto madhyamé rā yád vāvamé subhagāso diví śthā*. The epithet *mīlhusaḥ* is applied to the Maruts in 1, 173, 12 also: *mahás cid yásya mīlhuso yavyā havísmato marúto rāndate gīḥ*. *ye* in the first hemistich seems to have as antecedent *naḥ* in the third pāda.

The words *arhanti* and *caranti* in the first hemistich are perplexing and I follow Sāyaṇa in interpreting them as *pūjayanti* (cp. 10, 77. 1: *sumārutam ná brahmāṇam arhāse*) and *saparyanti* (cp. the verb *paricar*) respectively. Grassmann (no. 640) translates the hemistich as, “Die reich an Gaben selbst den Maruts kommen gleich, und zu den gnäd’gen gehn im Chor,” and Ludwig (no. 702) as, “die Marut, die treflich begabten, die hieher regnend gehn, sie die anspruch haben.”

8, 26, 18-19: *utá syā śvetayāvāri
rāhiṣṭhā rām nadinām |
sindhur híraṇyavartanīḥ ॥
smád etáyā sukīrtyā
'śvinā śvetáyā dhiyā |
rāhethc śubhrayāvānā ॥*

“And this Śvetayāvāri with a golden path, that among rivers, flows the best for ye, by this beautiful, well-famed Śvetā, drive with my prayer, O ye Aśvins with a splendid team.” *śvetā*=Śvetayāvāri, and *śvetayā*, ‘by Śvetā,’ means probably ‘to the bank of Śvetā,’ where, according to Sāyaṇa, the *r̥ṣi* was invoking the Aśvins.

10, 61, 8: *sá iṁ vṛṣā ná phénam asyad ājaiú
smád ā pāraid ápa dabhráacetāḥ |
sárat padā ná dákṣinā parāvṛṇi
ná tā nū me pṛśanyo jagṛbhre ॥*

This verse, as in fact, the whole hymn in which the verse occurs, is obscure. I translate tentatively, “Like a bull in a race, he threw forth froth; the handsome one went away weak in mind. He walked with the right foot turned away, as it were, thinking ‘The Pṛśanis have not got hold of me.’”

The word *smat* occurs further in 10, 49, 4 (*túgram kútsaya smádibham ca randhayam*) in the compound *smádibha* ('having a fine elephant') which is generally regarded as a proper name (PW, Grassmann, Sāyaṇa, Pischel and Geldner in *Ved. St.*, 1, p. xvi.).

The word *sumat* too occurs, further, in the compound *sumádgu* in AV. 5, 1, 7 and in the compound *sumát-kṣara* in three Praiṣa formulæ (VS. 21, 43-45; TB. 3, 6, 11, 1; MS. 4, 13, 7; KS. 18, 21). AV. 5, 1, 7, as in fact, the whole of the hymn 5, 1, is very obscure (Whitney, in his *AV. Translation*, remarks of it that it is 'intentionally and most successfully obscure'). Whitney has translated *sumádgu* there as 'with kine'; but there seems to be no doubt that it means 'having fine cows,' and that it is the equivalent of *sugú* in RV. 1, 125, 2: *sugúr asat suhiranyás sváśvah.* *sumátkṣara* (which is an epithet applied to the offering of fat and cooked flesh made to the gods) is explained by Roth (PW) as 'träufelnd, vollsaftig.' This explanation is unsatisfactory, and the word really signifies 'beautifully melting', that is, 'melting delightfully in the mouth' or 'delicious.'⁶

In conclusion, I would observe that, in the verses in which the words *smát* and *sumát* are used by themselves uncompounded, it is difficult to determine with what word they are to be construed. Thus in 10, 32, 3, I have construed *sumát* with *jāyā* while Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2, l. c.) and Sāyaṇa construe it with *vagnúna*. In 2, 4, 9, Sāyaṇa construes *smát* with *váyah*, and in 1, 100, 13, with *krandati* while I have construed them with *sūribhyah* and *vájrah*. Similarly, it is possible to construe it with *śármāṇ* in 1, 51, 15 (compare the words *su-śármāṇ* and *su-śáraṇa*) and with *nipāhi* in 7, 3, 8 (compare *su-gopāḥ*; *su-ūti*). I have therefore in the translations given above construed it in what seemed to me to be the best way.

⁶ Compare Uvāṭa's explanation: *sumat-kṣarāṇām* | *sumat svayam* ity arthaḥ | *svayam* eva yāni kṣaranti aditāni in his commentary on VS. 21. 43 and the similar explanation of Mahidhara.

§ 14
paḍbhīḥ

There has been much dispute about the interpretation of this word which occurs in six verses of the RV and in two passages of other texts; for literature in connection with it, see Oldenberg in ZDMG. 63, 300.

paḍbhīḥ is mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu* in 4, 2, along with other difficult words; and Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (5, 3), explains it as *paṇair iti vā spāśanair iti vā*.¹ Sāyaṇa explains it uniformly as *paḍaiḥ* in his RV commentary; and so apparently do Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara in their commentaries on VS. 23, 13.

These facts, namely, Sāyaṇa's unvarying explanation of *paḍbhīḥ* as *paḍaiḥ* and the similar explanations of Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara, lead me to conjecture that this explanation was borrowed by these commentators from Yāska, that Yāska, in fact, explained the word as *paḍair iti vā spāśanair iti vā*, and that the word *paṇaiḥ* found in the MSS is a corruption of the original reading *paḍaiḥ*.

In other words, I am inclined to believe that Yāska looked upon *paḍbhīḥ* (1) as equivalent to *paḍaiḥ*, or (2) as derived from the root *spāś*. According to Devarāja (l.c.), this root *spāś* signifies 'to bind' and *paḍbhīḥ* is equivalent to *bandhanaiḥ*. According to Wackernagel (*Ai. Gr.*, I, 172), Macdonell (*Ved. Gr.*, 34) and other

¹ The explanation *spāśanair iti vā* is found in some manuscripts of the *Nirukta* after *spāśanair iti vā*; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 228, n. 2. It is not found in the majority of the manuscripts, and there can therefore be no doubt that it is an interpolation.

Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta* shows that he did not know of this explanation. On the other hand, Devarāja's explanation of *paḍbhīḥ* in his scholium on the *Nighaṇṭu* (p. 408 of Satyavrata Sāmaśramin's ed.) shows that the words *spāśanair iti vā* formed part of the *Nirukta* in his time. For the rest, the explanations of both these writers show that the *Nirukta* codex which they had before them had the reading *paṇaiḥ*.

exegetists however, *paḍbhīḥ* is derived not only from *paś* 'to bind' but also from *spaś* 'to see.' And thus there are altogether three meanings proposed for the word *paḍbhīḥ*.

The European exegetists differ from one another by preferring or rejecting one or more of these three meanings. Thus, Roth, in the PW, says that *paḍbhīḥ* denotes *pādaiḥ* generally, but that the word used in RV. 4, 2, 12 is derived from *spaś* 'to see' and signifies 'glances' or 'eyes'². Ludwig, in his *RV. Ueber.*, 4, 309, questions both these derivations and says that *paḍbhīḥ* is derived from *paś=pāśa* or rope: later however, in 5, 626, he is inclined to admit the derivation from *spaś* 'to see' in connection with 4, 2, 12 ; 14. Bartholomae too, in *Bez. Beitr.* XV, 3 ff., similarly rejects the meaning *paḍbhīḥ* or *pādaiḥ* and derives the word from *paś* 'glance' and from *paś* 'rope.' Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1, 228 ff. admits all the three meanings, while Bloomfield, in *AJPh.* 11, 350 ff., opines that *paḍbhīḥ* signifies *pādaiḥ* everywhere and that it is not the instrumental plural of *paś* 'glance (eye)' or *paś* 'rope.' This is the opinion of Oldenberg also (ZDMG. 63, 300 ff.) who however interprets some of the verses in which *paḍbhīḥ* occurs differently from Bloomfield. Similarly Geldner³ too, in his *RV. Ueber.* (I, 376), has translated *paḍbhīḥ* as 'with feet.'

Now, it cannot be disputed that *paḍbhīḥ* means 'with feet' in Kauś. Sūtra 44, 17: *yad vāśā māyum akrata uro vā paḍbhīr āhata | agnir mā tasmād enaso viśvān muñcatv aṁhasah* which is to be recited when the *vāśā* is being slain. Not only does the meaning 'with feet' fit well here in the context, but the parallel versions of this mantra in TS. 3, 1, 4, 3; Sāma-mantra-brāh.

² Macdonell too (op. cit. p. 238) opines that *paḍbhīḥ* in 4, 2, 12 means 'with looks' and is derived from *spaś* 'to see.'

³ Geldner, in his *RV. Glossar*, had, like Pischel, admitted all the three meanings.

2, 2, 11; Kāt. ŠS. 25, 9, 12; Śāṅkh. ŠS. 4, 17, 12; Mānava-ŚS. 1, 8, 3, 34 and Gobh. GS. 3, 10, 28 actually read *paḍbhīḥ* here without cerebralization; so also do in fact many MSS of the Kauśika-sūtra itself. The meaning of the mantra therefore is: "If the *vaśā* has cried or beat (its) breast with (its) feet,—may Agni free me from that sin and all (other) sins." Similarly, there can be no doubt that *paḍbhīḥ* = *paḍdaiḥ* in VS. 23, 13 (= Śata. Br. 13, 2, 7, 6): *eṣā sva rāthyo vṛṣā paḍbhīś catúrbhir éd agaṇ*. The expression *catúrbhiḥ* *paḍbhīḥ* here is, as already pointed out by Pischel (l.c. 352), parallel to the expression *catúrbhiḥ* *paḍbhīḥ* in AV. 3, 7, 2: *ánu tvā hariṇó vṛṣā paḍbhīś catúrbhir akramit* and AV. 4, 14, 9: *paḍbhīś catúrbhiḥ práti tiṣṭha dikṣú*; and the passage therefore means: "This excellent chariot-horse has indeed come with four feet."

The meaning *paḍdaiḥ* however does not suit the context in RV. 10, 79, 2: *átrāṇy asmai paḍbhīḥ sáṁ bharanty uttānáhastā námasā 'dhi vikṣú*; for, it is difficult to imagine food being carried to Agni with feet by his worshippers. Bloomfield proposes therefore to interpret *paḍbhīḥ* as 'nimbly' here and explains (l. c. 352-3) thus how the word comes to have this meaning: "The phrase *paḍbhīś catúrbhiḥ* expresses the simple notion that the speed of animals is due to their character as quadrupeds. Animals run swiftly with their four feet, and because of their four feet. If the notion is generalized, *paḍbhīś*, when used of human beings, may have been felt in contrast to *paḍbhīyám* to mean 'with (four) feet' and thus 'quickly, nimbly, briskly,' etc. RV. v. 64. 7 cd *ā paḍbhīr dhāvatām narā óbhṛatāv arcanānasam* 'run hither nimbly, O ye two heroes, to preserve Arcanānas.' RV. x. 99. 12, *evā mahó asura vakṣáthāya vamrakāḥ paḍbhīr úpa sarpad indram* 'thus, O Asura, did great Vamraka quickly come to Indra for prosperity.' It seems difficult to imagine another meaning of *paḍbhīś* in these two passages, especially the last. Pischel has

left it untranslated, though admitting that *paḍbhīś* comes from *paḍ* 'foot ;' it seems simply inane to translate 'Vamraka went to Indra with his feet (plural!).' We venture the same exegesis for *paḍbhīś* in RV. x. 79. 2 : *āṭrāṇy asmāi paḍbhīḥ sāṁ bharanty, uttānāhastā nāmaśā* 'dhi vikṣū 'nimbly do they carry together fuel for him,' etc. Bartholomae and Pischel follow Ludwig in regarding *paḍbhīḥ* as a ritual expression, equivalent to *idhma-samnahana*, and translate 'they bring together his fuel with ropes,' etc. But the hymn is mystical, and it seems unlikely that a dry technical detail of the ritual should appear singly in such connection.'

This explanation is more ingenious than convincing ; for, even granting that *paḍbhīḥ* 'with feet,' when used with verbs of motion in connection with human beings, means 'briskly,' 'nimbly,' one fails to see why it should have this meaning in 10, 79, 2 where there is no verb of motion. Similarly, the explanations of Ludwig and Pischel (l. c. 237) that *paḍbhīś* means 'with rope' here and refers to the *idhma-samnahana-rajju* (or string with which the samidhs are tied together) are unconvincing. Likewise, it is also evident that the meaning 'eyes' or 'glances' does not fit the context here at all. Hence it is clear that *paḍbhīḥ* in 10, 79, 2 must have a signification different from the three mentioned above.

Now, Amarasiṁha, in his lexicon, mentions (1, 4, 1) among synonyms of *mati* the words *buddhi*, *manīṣā*, *dhiṣaṇā*, *dhi*, *prajñā*, *śemūṣī* and *prekṣā*, of which the last-mentioned word *prekṣā* is derived from *pra+ikṣ* 'to see' ; similarly, he mentions in 2, 7, 5f., the words *dūradarśin*, *dīrgha-darśin*, and *vicakṣaya*, all derived from roots meaning 'to see,' among synonyms of *dhīra* and *manīṣin* 'weise, verständig, nachdenkend' ; and most of the verbs meaning 'to see' in Sanskrit, as for instance, *ā+lok*, *ā+loc*, *īkṣ*, *dṛś*, *lok*, signify 'to understand, to comprehend' also ;⁴ see Apte ; see also Grassmann s. v. *īkṣ*, *ci* 2, *dṛś*, *vi+cakṣ*, *vicakṣaya*, etc.

⁴ Similarly, verbs meaning 'to see' have the sense of 'to understand, to comprehend' in many European languages also.

It is my opinion that the word *paś*, derived from *spaś* 'to see', is, like the above-mentioned word *prekṣā*, a synonym of *mati*, *dhī*, *manīṣā*, *dhīti*, etc. *paḍbhīḥ* thus is equivalent to *matibhīḥ*, *dhībhīḥ*, *dhītibhīḥ* or *manīṣābhīḥ*; and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the six RV verses in which the word occurs.

10, 79, 2: *gūhā śiro nīhitam ḍhag akṣi
āśin vann atti jīhvāyā vānāni |
ātrāṇy asmai paḍbhīḥ sām bharanty
uttānāhastā nāmasā 'dhi vikṣu ||*

"(His) head is placed in a secret place, (his) eyes, in a different place; irresistible, he eats woods with (his) tongue. In the clans, they (i.e., worshippers), with hands stretched out, reverently bring food for him with hymns."

paḍbhīḥ=matibhīḥ 'with hymns'; compare in this connection the following verses—7, 4, 1: *prā vah śukrāya bhānāve bharadvān havyām matīm cāgnāye sūpūtam*; 1, 153, 1: *yājāmahe vām mahāḥ sajōṣā havyēbhīr mitrā-varuṇā nāmabhīḥ | ghṛtair ghṛtasnū ādha yād vām asmē adhvaryāvo nā dhītibhīr bhāranti*; 5, 7, 1: *sākhāyah sām vah samyāñcam iṣām stōmām cāgnāye | vārṣiṣṭhāya kṣitīnām ūrjo nāptre sāhasvate [bharata]* and 5, 12, 1: *prāgnāye bṛhatē yajñiyāya ṛtāsyā vṛṣṇe ásurāya mānma | ghṛtām nā yajñā āsyē sūpūtam gīrām bhare vṛṣabhbāya pratīcīm*; all these verses speak of food (*havya*, *ghṛta*, *iṣ*) being brought (*bhrta*) to Agni and Mitra-Varuṇa with hymns (*mati*, *dhīti*, *stoma*, *gīr*). Compare also 1, 136, 1: *prā sū jyēṣṭham nicirābhyām bṛhān nāmo havyām matīm bharatā mṛlayādbhyām*; 6, 1, 10: *asmā u te māhi mahē vidhema nāmabhīr agne samīdhotā havyaiḥ | vēdī sūno sahaso gīrbhīr ukthaiḥ ā te bhadrāyām sumataū yatema*; 2, 35, 12: *asmāi bahūnām avamāya sākhye yajñair vidhema nāmasā havirbhīḥ | sām sānu mārjmi dīdhiṣāmi būlmair dādhāmy ánnaiḥ pāri vanda rgbhīḥ*; 8, 19, 5: *yāḥ samīdhā yā āhutī yō vēdena dadāśa mārto agnāye | yō*

námasā svadhvaráḥ ; and 8, 19, 13 : *yó agním havyádā-tibhir námobhir vā sudákṣam āvívāsati | girā vā 'jirásoci-ṣam* all which verses speak of Agni being worshipped in reverence (*námasā*) with food and hymns.

10, 99, 12 : *evā mahó asura vakṣáthāya
vamrakáḥ paðbhír úpa sarpað índram |
sá iyānáḥ karati svastíṁ asmā
íṣam úrjāṁ suksitíṁ vísvam ābhāḥ ||*

“ Thus, O great one, did Vamraka, for the strengthening of (thee) that art strong, approach with hymns, (thee) Indra. He, being approached, makes happiness for this (Vamraka); (he) has brought food, vigour, fine dwelling and all.”

It is the opinion of Roth (in the PW) that *vamraka* in pāda b means ‘ant.’ This view is justly criticised by Pischel who writes thus on p. 238, l. c. : “ Dass *Vamraká* nicht, wie Roth meint, “Ameischen” bedeutet, geht klar aus dem Beiorte *mahá* hervor. “Ein grosses Ameischen” wäre doch gar zu sonderbar und nicht weniger seltsam wäre es, *mahás* als Genetiv sing. zu fassen, zu *vakṣáthāya* zu ziehen und auf Indra zu deuten. Dass ein Ameischen dem Indra zum gedeihen verhelfen sollte, ist schwer zu glauben und wird direkt widerlegt durch den folgenden Vers *sá iyānáḥ karati svastíṁ asmā
íṣam úrjāṁ suksitíṁ vísvam ābhāḥ*. *sá* kann nur Indra, *asmāi* nur Vamraka sein. *Vamraká* ist Eigenname and wohl identisch mit *Vamra* 1, 112, 15 (10, 99, 5?).” Similarly, *vamraká* is regarded as a proper name by Bloomfield (l.c.), Grassmann and Ludwig. Sāyaṇa too regards it as a proper name, and identifies, as I think, quite correctly, this Vamraka, with the *Vamra* *Vaikhā-nasa* who, according to the *Sarvānukramanī*, is the seer of this verse.

In pāda a, the vocative *asura* refers naturally to Indra who is the deity of this stanza and is mentioned in pāda b ; compare in this connection 1, 154, 3 ; 1, 174, 1

and other verses (see Grassmann s. v.) in which this epithet is applied to Indra. The word *mahāḥ* is apparently regarded as a dative by Ludwig who translates *mahō vakṣáthāya* as 'zu grossem wachsthum,' while Grassmann opines that it is a genitive and refers to Indra. It is, as we have seen, looked upon as nominative singular by Pischel and also by Bloomfield (l. c.) and interpreted as 'great.' This view seems to me to be incorrect; for, nowhere else in the RV do we see a priest or singer characterised as 'great'; on the other hand, some of the seers call themselves *nādhamāna* 'distressed' (see Grassmann s.v.). I believe therefore with Grassmann that *mahāḥ* is a genitive and refers to Indra, and I hence supply after it the word *te*; compare 4, 24, 7: *vṛddhásya cid vardhatām asya tanūḥ stómebhīr ukthaīś ca śasyāmānā* 'May the body of this (Indra), though he is strong, become strong (er), being praised with hymns of praise.' After *īndram*, too, I supply, following Sāyāpa, the word *tvām*.

That the hymns recited by priests or singers put strength into the deities that are praised, is an idea that is commonplace in the RV. The phrase *pādabhīḥ vakṣáthāya upasṛṣṭi* 'to approach with hymns for strengthening' in pāda b gives expression to such an idea; it is equivalent to the phrases *matibhīḥ*, (*gīrbhīḥ*, *stomaiḥ*, *manasā*, *brahmaṇā*, etc.) *vardhay*, *vājay*, or *mahay* that are used in many verses. Compare for instance 5, 14, 6: *agnīm ghṛtēna vāvṛdhuḥ stómebhīr viśvácarṣāṇīm | svālhībhīr vacasyūbhīḥ*; 7, 12, 3: *tvām vāruṇa utá mitrō agne tvām vardhanti matibhīr vāsiṣṭhāḥ*; 7, 77, 6: *yām tvā dīvo duhitar vardhāyanty uśaḥ sujāte matibhīr vāsiṣṭhāḥ*; 8, 44, 2: *ágne stómaṁ juṣasva me vārdhasvānena mānmanā*; 1, 91, 11: *sóma gīrbhīś tvā vayām vārdhāyāmo vacvīdāḥ*; 10, 73, 2: *purū śāmsena vāvṛdhuḥ tā īndram*; 8, 100, 3: *prá sú stómaṁ bharata vājayānta īndrāya satyām yádi satyām ásti*; 6, 19, 4: *tām vāndram catinam asya sākair ihā nūnām vājayānto huvema*;

8, 3, 16 : *índram stómebhīr maháyanta āyávah pṛivámedhāso asvaran* ; 6, 15, 2 : *sá tvám súprīto vītāhavye adbhuta pṛásastibhir mahayase divé-dive* ; 3, 3, 3 ; *víprāso agním mahayanta cíttibhīḥ* ; and 5, 31, 4 : *brahmāṇa índram maháyanto arkaír ávardhayann áhaye hántarā u*. The word *paḍbhīḥ* is equivalent to *stómebhīḥ*, *gīrbhīḥ*, *cíttibhīḥ*, *matibhīḥ*, *mánmanā*, *pṛásastibhīḥ*, and *arkaīḥ* in the above verses. The expression *paḍbhīr úpa sarpat* in b is parallel to *gīrbhīr īmahe*, *gīrbhīr āyan*, etc., in 8, 68, 10 : *tám tvā yajñébhīr īmahe tám gīrbhīr gīrcaṇa-stama* ; 10, 98, 9 : *tvám púrva ḫṣayo gīrbhīr āyan tvám adhvaréṣu puruhūta vīśve* ; 2, 2, 5 : *tám u havyaír mānuṣa ḫñjate gīrā* ; 1, 36, 1 : *agním sūktébhīr vácobhīr īmahe* ; 8, 43, 31 : *agním mandrám pūṣupriyám . . . hṛdbhīr mandrébhīr īmahe* and other similar verses. Compare also AB. 7, 17 : *sa Prajāpatim eva pṛathamām devatānām upa-sasāra kasya nūnam . . . ity etayarcā . . . Agním upasasārāgner vayam . . . ity etayarcā . . . Savitāram upasasārābhi tvā deva savitar ity etena tṛcena*.

5, 64, 7 : *ucchántyām me yajatā
devákṣatre rúśadgavi |
sutám sómam ná hastibhīr
ā paḍbhīr dhāvataṁ narā
bíbhratāv arcanānasam ||*

“ When (the Dawn) with bright cows dawns for me in the sky, come with thoughts, running, O ye (two) heroes that are worshipful, to Arcanānas as to the (Soma juice) pressed by dexterous (priests), protecting.”

yajatā in a is nominative dual and qualifies [*yuvām*] that is the subject of *ādhāvatam* in d and refers to Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities of this verse. *rúśadgavi* ‘having bright cows’ denotes the goddess Uṣas; cp. 5, 75, 9 : *ábhūd uṣā rúśatpaśur ḫagnír adhāyy rtvíyah* “The Dawn who has bright cows has appeared; Agni has been set up (i.e., kindled) at the proper time” and Nighaṇṭu 1, 15 : *arunyo gāva uṣasah*.

devákṣatre in pāda b is obscure. Diverse suggestions have been made that it should be interpreted as (1) *yajñā* (Sāyaṇa : *devānāṁ kṣatram balāṁ yaśmin yajñe tad devakṣatram*) ; (2) 'Himmel' (Pischel in p. 238, l. c.) ; (3) 'unter göttlichen Herrschaft stehend' (Roth in PW), that is, presumably, 'the Dawn' or 'sky' ; ⁵ (4) 'Herrschaft der Götter, Götterreich' (Grassmann) ; (5) 'reich der götter' (Ludwig) ; (6) *deva-kṣetra* (Böhtlingk in Pw) ; (7) accusative dual, attribute of *haviṣi* (the dual is used because two portions are offered, one each to Mitra and Varuṇa who are entreated to come to such food as gods go to the Soma juice), and meaning 'eine die Herrschaft über die Götter verbürgende Opfer-speise' (Oldenberg in *RV. Noten*, I, p. 348, n. 1) ; and (8) locative, attribute of 'rite' and denoting 'in the rite which portrays the dominion (of Mitra and Varuṇa) over the gods' (Oldenberg, l.c.). Further, after expressing his dissatisfaction with all the above explanations, Oldenberg (9) points out (l. c.) that *kṣatra* is preeminently the possession of Mitra and Varuṇa (who are the very deities of this verse) in the RV and that they are described as having *kṣatra* over the gods in 5, 68, 3 : *mahi vām kṣatram devēśu* and 6, 67, 5 : *viśve yād vām . . . kṣatram devās vādādhuḥ sajōśāḥ*, and opines that *devákṣatre* is a corruption of *devákṣatrā*, nominative dual (the corruption is

⁵ It is explicitly said of the Dawn in 1, 92, 12 : *āminatī daīvāni vratāni* and 7, 76, 5 : *tē devānām nā minanti vratāni* that she does not infringe the laws of the gods, that is, that she obeys the laws of the gods and is under their dominion.

A similar explicit statement is not made of the sky. But the sky is said to have been established in its place or to be supported or upheld by Mitra and Varuna (5, 62, 3 ; 5, 69, 1 ; 4 ; etc.); Savitṛ (4, 53, 2 ; 10, 129, 1 ; 4 ; etc.), Indra (2, 12, 1 ; 3, 3^o, 9 ; 2, 17, 5 ; etc.) Viṣṇu (7, 99, 2 ; 3), Aśni (6, 8, 3 ; 1, 67, 5), Brhaspati (4, 50, 1), Soma (9, 101, 15), Prajāpati (10, 121, 5), Sūrya (10, 85, 1) and perhaps by other gods; and one can therefore deduce from this that the sky is under the dominion of the gods and obeys the laws laid down by them.

caused by the attraction of the locative case of the word *rūṣadgavi* that follows immediately after), and that it is an attribute of Mitra and Varuṇa and signifies 'who have dominion over the gods.'

The word *devakṣatra* occurs in two passages of the Kāṭh. Saṁ. in 21, 11 (p. 52, 9): *devakṣatram* *vai stomaś ca yajuś cāntata eva devakṣatram* *prāvasyati* and 33, 8 (p. 34, 5): *devakṣatram* *vā āyuṣas stomaḥ devakṣatram eva tad abhyārohanto yanti*. Not much light is thrown on the meaning of the word by the first,⁶ but the second indicates that *devakṣatra* is a place to which people 'mount.' Since the word *div* and its synonym *nāka* occur more than once as objects of the verb *āruh* in the KS (see 8, 16; 18, 4 etc.) and also in the RV (see Grassmann s. v. *ruh*), I believe that Pischel is right in interpreting *devakṣatra* as 'Himmel.' As we have seen above, the sky is under the dominion of the gods, and the epithet *devakṣatra* 'under the dominion of the gods' is not therefore an inappropriate one. Compare in this connection 1, 92, 1: *etā u tyā uṣásah ketum akrata pūrve árdhe rájaso bhānūm añjate*; 7, 79, 2: *vy añjate divó ántesv aktūn . . uṣásah*; and 1, 113, 14: *vy añjibhir divá átāsv adyaut* in which Uṣas is said to have illumined the sky with her rays.

The expression *paḍbhīr ádhāvatam* in d is equivalent to *dhībhir ádhāvatam*; compare 8, 8, 5: *ā no yātam úpaśruty áśvinā sómapitaye | svāhā stómasya vardhanā prā kavī dhībhir narā*; 8, 8, 7: *divás cid rocanād ádhy ā no gantam svarvidā | dhībhir vatsa-pracetasā stómebhīr haranaśrutā*; 8, 24, 7: *viśvāni viśvāmanaso dhiyā no*

⁶ The corresponding passage of the Maitr. Saṁ. however, namely, 3, 4, 2 (p. 46, 21): *stomaś ca yajuś cety annaṇ vai stomaś ca yajuś cānnāṇ vā etad ātman dhitvā 'do bhūtvā devakṣetram antataḥ prāvāsatā* has *devakṣetram*. This word signifies *svaṣga* or heaven; and the reading of the MS makes it probable that *devakṣatra*=*devakṣetra*, and thus lends support to Pischel's explanation of *devakṣatra* as 'Himmel.'

vṛtrahantama | úgra prapetar ádhi śū vaso gahi ; 8, 27, 5 :
 å no adyá samanaso gántā vísve sajóśasah | rcā girā
 māruto dévy áaite sádane pástye mahi ; 8, 27, 8 : å prá
 yāta māruto vísve áśvinā púṣan mākīnayā dhiyā ; and also
 6, 50, 10 : *utá me hávam å jagmyatam násatyā dhībhíh.*

The meaning of this expression *paḍbhír ådhāvatam* ‘come running with thoughts’ is somewhat ambiguous. The thoughts referred to may be ‘benevolent’ thoughts, *sumatayah*, i.e., favours or blessings (what Sāyaṇa calls *anugraha-buddhi* and Grassmann ‘wohlwollendes Aufmerken) of the deities ; compare 8, 26, 9 : *sumatibhir úpa vīprāv ihā gatam* ; “Come, O ye two inspired ones, with favours here” ; 8, 3, 1 : *asmāñi avantu te dhīyah* ‘May thy (Indra’s) favours help us’ ; 7, 67, 7 : *áheñatā mánasā yātam arvāk* “Come hitherward with favourable thought” ; 7, 37, 2 : *ví no rādhāñsi matibhir dayadhvam* “Bestow gifts on us with favours” ; and 2, 10, 5 : *arakṣásā mánasā táj juṣeta* “May he (Agni) enjoy it with favourably-inclined mind” ; or they may be the promptings or volitions of such deities ; compare 1, 3, 5 : *índrā yāhi dhīyéṣitáḥ* . . *úpa bráhmāṇi vāghátah* ‘Come, O Indra, impelled by thy thought, (that is, with eagerness), to the hymns of the priest’ ; 3, 11, 1 : *índrāgnī å gatañ sutám gīrbhír nábho várēnyam* | *asyá pātam dhīyéṣitā* ‘O Indra and Agni, prompted by your thoughts (i.e., eagerly) come to this excellent [Soma] juice that has been expressed with hymns and drink of it’ ; 1, 3, 2 : *nára sávirayā dhīyā* | *dhīṣṇyā vánatam gīrah* ‘Cherish (our) hymns with strong thought (i.e., most eagerly), O ye two heroes that are liberal (?). They may also be the ‘pious’ thoughts, i.e., hymns or praises, of the priests, which are conceived of as impelling the deities to come to the sacrifices, etc. ; compare 1, 135, 6 : *å vām dhīyó vavṛtyur adhvareñi úpa* “May our hymns turn you two to our sacrifices” ; 1, 139, 6 : *gīrbhír gīrvāhas stávamāna å gahi* ; 1, 144, 5 : *tám ìm hinvanti dhītāyah* ; 8, 44, 9 : *tvām agne maniṣinas tvām*

hinvanti cittibhīḥ ; and 10, 88, 5 : tām tvāhema matibhir gīrbhīr ukthaiḥ. Lastly, though this is less probable, pādabhīḥ may denote hymns that are conceived of as being the praises of the bards (*vandināḥ*, *sūtāḥ* or *māgadhāḥ*) attending on kings, and mentioned on p. 210 above.⁷ It must be noted in this connection that the epithet *rājan* ‘king’ is, in the RV, most often applied to Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities addressed in this verse.

It is very probable that the *ná* in pāda c, *sutām sómām ná hastibhīḥ* has really the force of *ca* ‘and’; compare the instances given on pp. 25, 145 above. Similarly, it is also very probable that the simile in pāda c refers to swiftness. Compare, for instance, 1, 2, 5 : *vāyav īndraś ca cetathaḥ sutānām vājinīvasū | tāv ā yātam úpa dravāt* ; 1, 3, 8 : *viśve devāśo aptūraḥ sutām ā ganta tūrṇayāḥ | usrā iva svāsarāṇi* ; 10, 112, 2 : *yás te rátho mānaso jāvīyān éndra téna somapéyāya yāhi | tūyam ā te hárayah prá dravantu* ; 7, 59, 4 : *tūyam yāta piśīsvaraḥ* and other similar verses in which Indra, Vāyu and other gods are exhorted to come quickly to the Soma juice. Pādas c d e therefore mean, ‘Come running swiftly, with thoughts, O ye two heroes, protecting, to Arcanānas and to the Soma juice pressed by clever priests.’ *hastibhīḥ*=by clever (priests); see Pischel, p. 238 l. c.

⁷ We read in 3, 58, 1: *uśāsas stómo aśvīnāv ajīgah* ; 7, 67, 1: *yó vām dūtō ná dhiṣyāv ajīgah* ; 10, 29, 1: *śūcīr vām stómo bhuraṇāv ajīgah* and other similar verses that the hymn or chant awakened the gods. Is it possible that in such verses too the hymns are conceived of as the praises sung by the bards in the early morning ? As we know from Raghuvaniśa 5, 65 : *tam karṇa-bhūṣaṇa-niśīdita-pīvarāmsam śayyottaraccha-la-vimarda-kṛśāngarāgam | sutātmajāḥ savayasaḥ prathila-prabodham prabodhayann uśasi vāgbhir udāra-vācaḥ* ; Māgha 11, 1: *śruti-samadhikam uccaiḥ pañcumām pīḍavantāḥ satatam ṛṣabha-hinām bhinnakikṛtya ṣadjam | pranījagadur akāku-śrāvaka-snigdha-kanṭhāḥ pariṇatim iti rātrci māgadhā Mādhavāya* and other similar passages, it was the duty of the sūtas and māgadhas to awaken kings in the morning with songs.

It is the opinion of both Pischel and Oldenberg that *ādhāv* in pāda d is used in a twofold sense (*śleṣa*); but the two savants differ in their interpretation of pādas cde. Pischel writes: (p. 238 l. c.) "Varuṇa und Mitra sollen su den gepressten Soma herbeieilen, wie die Adhvaryus zum Spülen des Somas eilen. Der Vergleich ist passivisch gewendet= *yáthā hastibhir ā dhāvyātē tāthā ā dhāvatām nara*" and translates the verse as, "Wenn am Himmel die Morgenröte aufleuchtet, dann kommt ihr Heilige zu meinem gepressten Soma, wie die Adhvaryus (zum Spülen des Somas), o ihr Männer, Arcanānas hegend." Oldenberg has, on the other hand, observed: "Wie ich GGA. a. a. O. gezeigt habe, steht *ā-dhāv* zugleich in der Bedeutung "herbeilaufen" und "reinigen", jenes das Werk der Füsse, dieses der Hände: "wie (man) den von geschickth ä n d i g e n (Priestern) gepressten Soma (mit eben diesen geschickten Händen reinigt, *ā-dhāv*), so eilt herbei (*ā-dhāv*; vielleicht auch hier zu verstehen: zum Soma) mit euern Füßen, ihr Männer."⁸ Der Vergleich zwischen dem Reinigen und dem Herbeilaufen beruht darauf, dass beides *ā-dhāv* heisst, vgl. zu I, 64, 2."

These observations do not seem to me to be convincing, and I therefore believe that the verb *ādhāv* in d has the sense of 'running' only and has no connection with pāda c. It is possible however to construe *paḍbhīh* in d with *sutām* in c. *paḍbhīh sutām=dhībhīh sutām*; 'pressed with (i.e., to the accompaniment of the chanting of) hymns;' compare 3, 12, 1 (cited above): *īndrāgnī ā*

⁸ The verse is translated by Grassmann as: "Beim Morgenlichte, o ihr beiden ehrwürdigen, im Gotterreich, das schimmernde Rinder hat, presst mir den Soma gleichsam mit den Händen [*hastebhir* zu lesen] und knetet mit den Füßen hin, o Männer, den [Dichter] Artschanānas unterstützend" and by Ludwig as: "wenn sie mir herleuchtet die heiligen, in dem reiche der gotter, wo weisze kühe sind, lauft herbei ihr zwei manner, zum gepressten soma wie mit greifenden schlingen, erhaltend den Arcanānas."

gatāṁ sutāṁ gīrbhīr nābho vāreṇyam “Come, O Indra and Agni, to (this) excellent (Soma) juice pressed with hymns”; 3, 12, 2: *ayā pātam imāṁ sutāṁ* “Drink this (Soma juice) pressed with this (hymn)”; 8, 48, 7: *iśirēṇa te mānasā sutásya bhakṣīmāḥi pītryasyeva rāyāḥ* “May we partake of thee, pressed with devoted (or vigorous) hymn, as of paternal wealth.” Compare also Caland-Henry, L’Agniṣṭoma, § 127 ff. and the literature cited therein. The meaning of pādas cde in this case would be, ‘Come running quickly, O ye two heroes, to Arcanānas and to the Soma juice pressed by dexterous priests to the accompaniment of hymns, protecting.’

Arcanānas is, according to the *Sarvānukramanī*, the seer of this hymn.

4, 38, 3: *yāṁ sīṁ ánu praváteva drávantam*
viśvāḥ pūrūr mādati hárṣamāṇah |
paḍbhīḥ gýdhyantam medhayúm ná śūram
rathatúram vātam ivā dhrájantam ||

When explaining pāda c of this verse on p. 146 above, I have, following Pischel, Bloomfield, and other interpreters, construed *paḍbhīḥ* with *gýdhyantam* and interpreted the expression as ‘speeding with a will.’ Though this is not wrong (*paḍbhīḥ* has, as we have seen on p. 272 above, the sense of ‘eagerly,’ ‘with a will,’ etc., also), I am now inclined to believe that it is much more preferable to construe it with the word (*anu*) *mādati* (in pāda b) as is done, in the case of *gīrbhīḥ*, *stómebhīḥ* and other synonyms of *paḍbhīḥ*, in many RV verses. Compare for instance, 1, 9, 3: *mátsvā suśiṣṭra mandibhīḥ stómebhīḥ viśvacarṣaṇe* “Rejoice, O thou (Indra) with beautiful lips, that are honoured by all men, in (these) pleasing hymns”; 1, 51, 1: *abhi tyāṁ mēṣāṁ puruhūtāṁ ṛgmīyāṁ indram* *gīrbhīḥ madata* “Cheer with hymns that Indra worthy of praise, invoked by many, the goat”; 8, 6, 39: *mátsvā vīvasvato matī* “Rejoice in the hymn (sung) from (the abode of) Vivasvat”; 10, 104, 3: *indra dhénābhir iḥā*

mādayasva dhībhīr vīsvābhiḥ “Rejoice now, O Indra, in all these hymns and praises” ; 10, 116, 2 : *svastidā mānasā mādayasva* “Rejoice, O Indra that bestowest well-being, in (this) hymn” ; 3, 53, 10 : *mādanto gīrbhīr adhvaré suté sācā* “Rejoicing with hymns in the Soma-sacrifice” ; and particularly 5, 36, 2: *ánu tvā rājann árvato ná hinván gīrbhīr madema puruhūta vīśve* “O thou king that art invoked by many, may we all cheer thee with praises as one does who impels race-horses.”⁹

I therefore translate the verse as follows: “Whom, running (swiftly) like (water) down an incline, rushing forward like a valiant soldier in battle, surpassing chariots (in speed), and speeding like the wind, every Pūru (i. e., every one of the Pūru clan) rejoicing, cheers with praises.”

This verse, and also the other verses of this hymn, are addressed to Dadhikrā or Dadhikrāvan, the swift horse whom Mitra and Varuṇa presented to the Pūrus (cp. 4, 39, 2 : *yám pūrūbhyo didivāṁsaṁ nāgnim dadāthur mitrāvaruṇā tātūrim*), that is, to their king Trasadasyu, and whose achievements on the race-ground are described in hymns 4, 38-43.

The expression *paḍbhir anumadati* in the first half-verse is exactly parallel to the expression *gīrbhir anumadema* (*hinvantah*) in 5, 36, 2 cited above; the meaning of the expression is, ‘(Every Pūru) cheered with praises and impelled (the horse) to further exertion.’ Compare in this connection 7, 7, 1: *prá vo devām cit sahasānām agnīm áśvām ná vājīnām hiṣe nāmabhīḥ* “Like a strong horse, I impel with praises the vigorous god Agni for you”; and 10, 156, 1: *agnīm hinvantu no dhīyah sáptim áśūm ivājīṣu* “May our praises impel

⁹ In all probability however *hinván* (singular) at the end of the pāda is a shortened form of *hinvantah* (plural), and the half-verse means, “O thou king that art invoked by many, may we all cheer thee with praises and impel thee as (people do) race-horses”. *hinvantah* is an attribute of *vayam*.

Agni, like a fleet courser in the races" in which the verb *hi*, together with words meaning 'praises,' is used in connection with race-horses. A similar usage is observable in 9, 68, 7 ; 9, 64, 16 ; 9, 8, 4 ; 8, 44, 19 ; 1, 143, 4 ; 1, 144, 5 ; 10, 88, 5 and 10, 140, 3 also. Words denoting 'race-horses' however are not used in these verses, but are to be understood.

It thus becomes evident that the expressions *gīrbhir arvataḥ anumadanti* and *gīrbhir arvataḥ hinvanti* are synonymous¹⁰ and signify 'they cheer the race-horses with praises and thereby impel them to further exertion.' The full formula to be employed in this connection is thus *gīrbhir anumadanti hinvanti ca*; but, as we have seen, it is only in one verse (5, 36, 2 cited above) that both the verbs are used; the other verses use one verb only, either *anumad* or *hi*, to express this idea.

pravātā in pāda a is construed in connection with the course of Dadhikrā by Grassmann (who translates the expression *pravāteva drāvantam* as 'Dem, wenn er läuft gleichwie im jähn Sturze'), Ludwig ('an dem wie auf abschüszigem pfade laufenden'), and Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 148: 'every Pūru praises him as he runs on a precipice as it were').¹¹ This seems to me to be a mistake, and I believe that the simile in pāda a is a *luptopamā*, the elided word being (the upamāna) *āpah*. Compare the simile *āpo nā pravātā yatiḥ* that is used in 8, 6, 34 ; 8, 13, 8 and 9, 24, 2 in all which verses the

¹⁰ The verb *svār* with *sām* is used instead of *anu-mad* in similar circumstances in 9, 66, 8: *sām u tvā dhībhīr asvaran hinvatih saptā jāmāyah | vīpram ājā vivāsvataḥ* "The seven sisters have cheered thee that art wise with praises and impelled thee, from the abode of Vivasvat (?) in the race" and 9, 67, 9: *hinvānti sūram usrayah pāvamānam madhuśūtam | abhī girā sām asvaran* "The usris (?) impel the bright honey-dripping Soma Pavamāna; they have cheered him with praises."

¹¹ Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translates the expression as 'wenn er wie in vollem Laufe dahineilt.'

sāmānya-dharma is swift going; cp. also 9, 6, 4: *ánu drapsāsa īdava āpo ná pravātāsaran*; 7,18,15: *īndreṇaite tētsavo véviśāṇā āpo ná sṛṣṭā adhavanta nīcīḥ*; 9, 17, 1: *prā nimmēnēva síndhavaḥ . . sōmā asr̄gram āśāvah*; 9, 69, 7: *síndhor iva pravaṇé nimná āśāvah*; 1, 57, 1-2; 10, 148, 5, etc.

There can be no doubt that, like the other epithets *pravateva dravantam*, *rathaturam* and *vātam iva dhrajantam*, the epithet *medhayum na sūram gr̄dhyantam* too describes the swiftness of Dadhikrā. The meaning of the expression is, 'speeding like a valiant soldier in battle'; and it is my belief that the root *gr̄dh* does not signify 'to be greedy' here and that the translations of Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*: 'mit den Füßen (kampf) begierig wie ein Held nach der Meisterschaft begierig'), Grassmann ('Im Laufe strebt er, wie ein Held nach Beute'), Bloomfield (p. 353 l.c.: 'impatient with his feet, as a hero (is impatient) when eager for strife'); and Ludwig ('der wie mit schlingen bestrebt zu erfassen, als lanzenkundiger held') as also Pischel's explanation (l.c., p. 232: dass Dadhikrāvan im Laufe ungeduldig die Riemen erfasst und sie schüttelt wie ein streitlustiger Held die Zügel) are all wide of the mark. Regarding the simile, compare 1, 85, 8: *sūrā ivéd yúyudhāyo ná jāgmayaḥ* 'Going swiftly like valiant men ready for the battle' and 1, 158, 3: *úpa vām ávah śaranām gameyām śūro nājma patāyadbhīr évaiḥ* 'May I go to your shelter as a hero goes to battle with flying feet (?)' in which verses too the upamāna is *sūra* and the *sāmānyadharma* swift going.

4, 2, 12: *kavīm śasāsuḥ kaváyó 'dabdha
nidhārāyanto dūryāsv āyóḥ !
átaś tvām dīśyān agna ctān
paḍbhīḥ paśyer ádbhutān aryā évaiḥ ||*

The first half of this verse is unambiguous and may be translated as, "The undeceived wise ones instructed the wise one, establishing him in the dwellings of Āyu."

ādabdhāḥ kavāyāḥ in a refers to the gods (*devāḥ*) who brought Agni down to the earth and established him in the dwellings of men so that he may guard these dwellings and also carry the offerings made by men to the gods; the word *śaśāsuḥ* refers apparently to these injunctions (that Agni should be the *gr̥hapati* and *havyavāṭ*) and also perhaps to his officiating as *hotṛ* on behalf of men. Compare Sāyaṇa: *śaśāsuḥ hotā bhaveti śaśāṁsuḥ*.

The second half-verse is ambiguous and can be interpreted in two ways:

(1) We may regard it as a paraphrase of the first half of the preceding verse, *cittim* *acittim* *cinaवाद्* *vi* *vidvān* *pr̥sthēva* *vītā* *vṛjinā* *ca* *mārtān* | *rāyē* *ca* *naḥ* *svapatyāya* *deva* *dītim* *ca* *rāsvāditim* *uruṣya*. The words *citti* and *acitti* here are explained by Sāyaṇa and Geldner as *puṇya* and *pāpa* (Recht und Unrecht) or *jñāna* and *ajñāna* (Verstand und Unverstand) while Grassmann, Ludwig and Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 317) give the latter explanation only. *citti* denotes 'pious thought, i.e., piety,' here and *acitti*, 'impious thought, impiety;' and the meaning of the verse is, "May he, the knowing one, distinguish piety and impiety, (and) the (pious and impious) mortals like straight and crooked backs (of horses). (Help us) to wealth and good offspring, O god; grant us Diti and keep off Aditi."¹²

As a paraphrase of the first half of this verse, we may translate the second half of 4, 2, 12 as: "From there, O Agni, mayest thou look at these rich people that are visible by their thoughts and (those also) that are invisible by their thoughts." *paḍbhīḥ=dhiobhīḥ*; and *paḍbhīḥ dṛṣyān* 'visible by their thoughts' means 'those whose thoughts, i.e., hymns or works of piety, are visible or plain to be seen.' Similarly, *evaiḥ adbhutān* denotes the rich people 'whose thoughts (hymns or works of

¹² The meaning of the fourth pāda, is obscure; see Oldenberg in SBE. 46, 321 and Ludwig's *RV. Ueber.*

piety) are invisible, i.e., can not be seen,' that is, rich people who perform no works of piety. The expressions *padbhīr dṛṣya* and *evaiḥ adbhūta* in this verse are thus paraphrases of the terms *citti* and *acitti* of the preceding verse.

The meaning of *evaiḥ* is not known exactly and requires to be investigated. For the present however, I look upon it as a synonym of *kratu* or thought; compare in this connection 7, 62, 2: *ebhiḥ stómebhīr etaśébhīr evaiḥ* where *evaiḥ* is used as an epithet of *stomebhīḥ*.

(2) Secondly, we may regard the second half-verse as containing a *virodhābhāsa*; that is, it is possible that the epithets *dṛṣya* and *adbhūta* refer, not to different men (as in the interpretation given above), but to the same men. The half-verse would then mean, "From there, O Agni, mayest thou look with thoughts on these rich men that are visible (and at the same time) invisible (i.e., unfathomable or wonderful) with their thoughts (hymns)." *aryāḥ* 'rich people' refers to the sacrificers or 'patrons' (see Geldner, ¹³ *RV.Ueber.*, and the passages referred to by him there) who are visible, *dṛṣya*, to Agni, and are at the same time, invisible, *adbhūta*, in their thoughts. That is to say, the patrons are visible, while their thoughts are *adbhūta*.

padbhīḥ is synonymous with *dhibhīḥ*, but should be construed with *paśyeh* and not with *dṛṣyān*. Compare in this connection 1,139,2: *yuvór itthādhi sádmasv ápaśyāma hiranyáyam | dhibhīś caná mánasā svébhīr akṣábhīḥ sómasya svébhīr akṣábhīḥ* "Thus did we see, with thoughts, with mind, with our own senses, with the senses of Soma, your golden (throne) in your abodes." The expression *dhibhīḥ paś* signifies in all probability 'to look with heed or care;' and *padbhīḥ paśyeh* of this verse is thus a synonym of *vi cīnavat* used in the preceding verse.

¹³ He however looks on *aryāḥ* as genitive singular, and not as accusative plural.

adbhuta has two meanings, (1) invisible, and (2) wonderful, marvellous; and either of these meanings fits the context in this verse. In the first case, *évair ádbhutān* means 'with invisible, i.e., hidden, deep or unfathomable thoughts or hymns.' Compare 5, 85, 1: *prá samrāje bṛhád arcā gabhīrájī bráhma priyám várūjāya śrutāya* 'Chant loudly the dear deep hymn for the famous sovereign Varuṇa'; 1, 35, 7: *gabhīrávepā ásurāḥ sunīthāḥ* 'The mighty one of deep inspiration and good guidance'; 10, 62, 5: *tá id gaṁbhīrávepasāḥ* 'They (the Virūpas) indeed are deeply inspired'; 8, 8, 2: *kāvī gáṁbhīracetasā* 'O ye two wise ones whose thoughts are unfathomable'; 1, 24, 9: *urvī gabhīrā sumatiṣ te astu* '(O Varuṇa), may thy wide, unfathomable good favour be (for us)'; 7, 87, 6: *gaṁbhīrásamso rájaso vimānah* '(Varuṇa) the measurer of space, whose thoughts are unfathomable'; and also 4, 5, 6: *idáni me agne kiyatc pāvakāminate gurúni bhārāni ná mánma | bṛhád dadhātha dhṛṣṭatā gabhīrájī yahvám pṛṣṭhám pṛáyasā saptádhātu* whose meaning is not clear to me. Compare also the epithet *ádbhutakratu* that is applied to Agni in 8, 23, 8: *yajñébhir ádbhutakratum yám kṛpā sūdáyanta ít* and to Mitra and Varuṇa in 5, 70, 4: *mā kásyādbhutakratū yakṣám bhujemā tanúbhiḥ*. I have interpreted this term on p. 184 above as 'having wonderful strength'; but it seems preferable to interpret it (as Roth and Grassmann have done) as 'having wonderful thoughts', i.e., as the equivalent of *évair ádbhutān* in 4, 2, 12d and of *gaṁbhīracetas* and *gaṁbhīrásamṣa* in the verses cited above.

According to this interpretation, *evair adbhitān* is, so to say, equivalent to *kavitamān* or *viśratamān* and can be used (like these words) to describe gods as well as priests and patrons (*yajamāna*).

If we regard *adbhitān* as equivalent to *citrān*, *evair adbhitān* means 'with wonderful thoughts (hymns)'; compare, 6, 66, 9: *prá citrám arkám .. mārulāya svátaवase bharadhvam* "Offer the wonderful hymn to the

very strong host of the Maruts"; and 5, 18, 4: *citrā vā yēṣu dīdhitiḥ* "in whom (*sc.* yajamānas) is brilliant thought."¹⁴

According to this interpretation, pādas cd of 4, 2, 12 contain *virodhābhāṣa* combined with *śleṣa*.

Thus, whether we understand *adbhuta* as 'unfathomable' or as 'wonderful,' pādas cd according to the second interpretation refer to the patron who worships Agni with excellent hymns and are to be read together with the following verse (4, 2, 13): *tvām agne vāghāte suprāṇītiḥ sutāsoma�a vidhaté yavīṣṭha | ráthām bhara śāśamānā�a ghr̄ṣve pṛthū scandrām ávase carṣaṇiprāh.* The meaning of this verse is, "Bring, O Agni, youngest, that delightest in giving, whose guidance is good, to the worshipper who has pressed the Soma, who has made ready the sacrifice, broad brilliant treasure in order to help him, thou that fillest (the expectations of) people"; and the worshippers that are referred to here as *vidhat*, *sutasoma* and *śāśamāna* are the same as the *evair adbhuṭā aryāḥ* of the preceding verse.

Concerning the use of the instrumental in *evair adbhuṭān* and *paḍbhīr dṛṣyān*, compare § 92 in Delbrück's *Ai. Syntax*, and particularly Šata. Br. 1, 8, 1, 9: *bahuḥ pṛajayā paśubhir bhaviṣyasi* and *ibid.* 2, 1, 4, 28: *yathāsau dyaur bahvī nakṣatrair evam bahur bhūyāsam* cited by him there.

4, 2, 14: *ádhā ha yád vayám agne tvāyā
paḍbhīr hāstebhiś cakrmā tanūbhīḥ |
ráthām ná kránto ápasā bhuríjor
ṛtām yemuh sudhyā āśuṣāṇāḥ ||*

¹⁴ *citra* occurs as an epithet of *dhī* in 8, 66, 8: *sēmām nah stōmām jujuṣānā ā gahīndra pṛā citrāyā dhiyā* and 8, 66, 14: *trām na utī tāva citrāyā dhiyā sīkṣā śaciṣṭha gātuvit.* But the word *dhī* in these verses, or at least in the latter, signifies not 'hymn,' but 'benevolent thought' or 'favour' of the deity invoked.

“ And (all), O Agni, that we have, with thoughts, hands (and) bodies done for thee, with effort, like those who turn the wheel between the shafts,—(in all this), the pious-minded have held up the Law, aspiring after it.”

In connection with pādas ab, compare TA. 2, 3, 1 : *yád vācā yán mánasā bāhūbhýām ūrúbhýām aṣṭhīvádbhyāñ śiśnáir yád ánytam cakrýmā vayám | agnír mā tásmañ énaso gārhapatyāh prámūñcatu* “ If we have committed sin with speech, thought, with arms, thighs, knees (or) genital organs, may Agni Gārhapatya free me from that sin ” ; TA. 10, 24 (31) : *yád áhnā pāpam akārṣám | mánásā vācā hastābhýām | pádbhyām údáreṇa śiśnā | áhas tād avaluñpátú* “ The sin that I have committed by day with thought, speech, hands, feet, stomach and genital organ,—may the day destroy (or, stifle) it ” ; Mukundamālā-stotra 15 : *kāyena vācā manasendriyair vā buddhiyātmanā vā prakṛtes svabhāvāt | karomi yad-yat sakalam parasmai Nārāyaṇāyaiva samarpayāmi* “ Whatever I do, with body, thought, speech, sense-organs, mind, spirit, or according to nature, all that I make over to the great Nārāyaṇa alone ” ; Śivāparādha-kṣamāpāṇa-stotra 14 : *kara-caraya-kṛtam vā karma-vāk-kāyajam vā śravaya-naya-najam vā mānasam vā 'parādham | vihitam avihitam vā sarvam etat kṣamasva jaya jaya karuṇābdhe śrī-Mahādeva Śambho* ;¹⁵ and the expression *mama janma-prabhṛty etat-kṣaṇa-paryantam madhya-vartini kāle rahasi prakāśe ca mano-vāk-kāya-karmabhiḥ jñānato jñānataś ca sambhāvita-sakala-doṣa-parihārārtham* that occurs in the *sāṃkalpa* ¹⁶

¹⁵ The author of the *Mukundamālā-stotra* is said to be Kulaśekhara-ālvār, and of the *Śivāparādha-kṣamāpāṇa-stotra*, śrī-Śaṅkarācārya. These hymns are well-known and are printed in almost all collections (s t o t r a - r a t n ā k a r a) of such stotras.

¹⁶ A *sāṃkalpa* is a formula recited before performing vratas, giving gifts, bathing in rivers, etc, in which, after mentioning exact particulars of the time and place, the performer sets forth his ‘intention’, that is, what he is going to do, with what object and how. In a formula that I have often heard recited in the Kannada country, there occur the following (or similar) words in the place

printed on pp. 1300 ff. of the Telugu edition (Mysore, 1914) of Nṛsiṁha's *Prayoga-pārijāta*, Śoḍaśakarmakāṇḍa.

Compare also Manu 1, 104: *mano-vāg-dehajaiḥ karma-doṣaiḥ*; MBh. 3, 146, 89: *karmasu deha-vāk-citta-dūsiṣu*; ibid. 1, 62, 25: *śarīreṇa kṛtam pāpam vācā ca manasaiva ca* and the other passages cited by Pischel on p. 230, l. c. in which human actions are divided into three groups *kāyika*, *vācika*, and *mānasika*. The words *paḍbhiḥ* and *tanūbhiḥ* of the above verse refer to two of these groups: *tanūbhiḥ* corresponds to *kāya*, *śarīra* and *deha* in the above-cited passages and *paḍbhiḥ* to *manas* and *citta* in them.

Regarding *bhurijoh*, the observations of Pischel on p. 239f l. c. make it very probable that it denotes "Schleif-apparat; Schleifmaschine", i. e., a machine (something like a grinding wheel) which consisted of a wheel that moved freely between two shafts. It is this wheel that is denoted by the word *ratha*, either by synecdoche, or because *ratha* itself has that meaning.¹⁷

of those given above: mama iha-janmani pūrvajanmani janma-janmāntareṣu bālyā-yauvana-kaumara-vārdhakyeṣu jāgrat-svapna-suṣupty-avasthāsu tvak-cakṣuś-śrotra-jihvā-ghrāṇā-vāk-pāṇi-pāda-pāyūpas-thair jñānato' jñānato vā mano-vāk-kāya-karmabbhis sāmbhāvitā-nām sarvesām pāpānām. Compare in connection with this AV.6,96,3: *yāc cākṣuśā mānasā yāc ca vācōpārimā jāgrato yāt svapāntah* | sōmas tāni svadhāyā nah pūnātu and RV. 10, 164, 3: *vād āśāsā nihśāsā 'bhiśāsopārimā jāgrato yāt svapāntah* | agnīr vīśvāny āpa duṣkṛtāny ājuṣṭāny ārē asmād dadhātu.

A *sāmkalpa* printed on p. 2 (a) of R̄gvedīya-nityavidhi (Nirnayasāgara Press, 1919) has the words *mama ātmānāḥ śūti-smṛti-puānokta-phaula-prāptiyartham kāyika-vācika-mānasika-sāṁsargika-jñātājñāta-sprstāsprṣṭa-bhuktādhukta-pītāpītā-sakula-pāpākṣayārtham*.

¹⁷ *ratha* in *ratha-nābhi* similarly denotes 'wheel' in Brh. Up. 2, 5, 15: *yathā ratha-nābhau ca ratha-nemau cārāḥ sarve sumarpitāḥ* and in Muṇḍ. Up. 2, 2, 6; Praś. Up. 2, 6; and 6, 6: *arā iva rathanābhau*. Likewise, *ratha*=wheel, in Kaus. Up. 3, 8: *yathā rathasyāreṣu nemir arpitāḥ*.

Compare for instance VS. 34, 5: *yásmiṇn ḫcaḥ sāma yájūṇi yásmiṇ prātiṣṭhitā rathanābhāv ivārāḥ* “in which are firmly established the ḫks, sāman and yajus, as spokes in the nave of the wheel”; 5, 63, 7: *sūryam ā dhattho divī cītryam rātham* “ye have placed in the sky Sūrya, the brilliant wheel”;¹⁸ and 9, 71, 5: *sām ī rātham ná bhurījor aheṣata dāśa svásāraḥ* “the ten sisters (i. e., fingers) have set in motion (Soma) like the wheel of a grinding machine.” *āpasā* denotes the effort that one has to make in turning the wheel.

The simile *rātham ná krānto* . . . is to be construed with pādas ab; and the meaning of the verse thus is, “O Agni, in all that we have done for thee (i.e., in thy honour and for thy glorification) with thoughts, hands and bodies and with effort comparable to that which one makes when turning the grinding wheel, we have always sought to uphold the law and have aspired after it.”

In *ṛtam yemuh* in pāda d, there is an abrupt transition from the first person (*vayām cakrmā*) of the other three pādas into the third person. There seems to be no doubt however that the *sudhyā āśuṣāṇāḥ* of d are identical with the priests that are referred to as *vayām* in a. Compare the next verse, *ādhā mātūr uṣásah saptá vīprā jāyemahi prathamā vedháso nṛn* . . . in which the first person is again used and the change again into the third person in vv. 16, 17.

ṛtam in d is to be construed with both *yemuh* and *āśuṣāṇāḥ*, as pointed out by Pischel (p. 230, l.c.); compare 4, 23, 10 and also 4, 1, 13 and 4, 2, 16.

This closes the list of RV passages in which the word *pādbhīḥ* occurs. In all these, as I trust has been

¹⁸ Compare in this connection Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 31: “He [i.e., the sun] is the belly of Mitra-Varuna (5, 62, 2). . . . The sun is also called a wheel (1, 175, 4; 4, 30, 4) or the ‘wheel of the sun’ is spoken of (4, 28, 2; 5, 29, 19)” and also Bergaigne, I, 7.

made plain by the foregoing, *paḍbhīḥ* has the value of *dhībhīḥ*, *manobhīḥ*, *dhītibhīḥ*, etc., and is a derivative of the root *spaś* 'to see.' The word *paḍbhīḥ* that is found used in VS. 23, 13, on the other hand, is the equivalent of *paḍbhīḥ* and is clearly derived, as said by Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara, from *paḍ* 'foot.' The cerebralization of the letter *d* is anomalous and perhaps due to false analogy (cp. Lanman, Noun Inflection p. 475).

नमः परमक्रषिभ्यो नमः परमक्रषिभ्यः ॥

Muṇḍ. Up. 3, 2, 11.

तच्छंयो रा वृणीमहे । गातुं यज्ञाय ।
 गातुं यज्ञपतये । दैवी स्वस्ति रस्तु नः ।
 स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजम् ।
 शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे । शं चतुष्पदे ॥

ओं शांतिः शांतिः शांतिः ॥

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